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MEMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES

VOL. IV.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE EIGHTH PART.

Page

Reflections on the Emperor's Letter—New Obstacles started by Sir Hudson Lowe 1
Official Decision respecting my Removal to the Cape—Artful and ridiculous Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe—Letters.... 8
Correspondence continued—The Governor disconcerted by my final Determination 16
Our Removal from Balcombe's Cottage to the Town..... 24
Our Residence at the Governor's Castle—Better Treatment, &c. 25
The Emperor's Message to me—The Grand Marshal's Farewell 27
Last Farewell—Sealing of my Papers—Departure 30
Passage from St. Helena to the Cape, a space of eighteen days—Our Grievances at Longwood—Details, &c. 40

MY RESIDENCE AT THE CAPE.

An Interval of upwards of Seven Months.

My Confinement at the Old Castle—Particulars, &c..... 93
Removal to Newlands, the Governor's Country Residence—Details 120
Residence at Tygerberg—The name of Napoleon familiar in the Desert—Manuscript of St. Helena, &c. 133

PASSAGE TO EUROPE.

We Sail for the Cape—Our Passage—We anchor in the Downs 148

VOYAGE FROM THE THAMES TO FRANKFORT.

I am not allowed to remain in England—Removal to Ostend—Persecutions in Belgium, in Prussia, &c.—Agreeable Compensations—Arrival at Frankfort 162

RESIDENCE IN GERMANY.

From the Period of my Arrival at Frankfort, until the Period of my Residence at Offenbach. A Space of Fifteen Months.

Page.

Residence at Frankfort—My Endeavours to alleviate the Situation of the Inhabitants at Longwood—Letters to Maria Louisa and to the Allied Sovereigns—My Letter to Lord Bathurst—Petition to the British Parliament—Relations with several Members of the Emperor's Family—Measures to supply the Wants of Longwood; Details, &c.—Journey to Baden—Residence at Manheim; Motives for this Choice—Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle—My Efforts; Details—Letter from Madame, the Emperor's Mother, &c.—Note to the Sovereigns — New official Documents received from Longwood, and addressed to the Sovereigns; new Efforts, Details, &c. — State of Public Opinion—Arrival of the Brig Musquito—Fresh Vexation; the Minister of Baden causes me to leave Manheim; Details, &c.—I retire to Offenbach 187

FROM MY ARRIVAL AT OFFENBACH, UP TO MY RETURN TO FRANCE.

A Space of more than Two Years.

Residence at Offenbach—Detail—Arrival of Madame Montholon in Europe—Journey to Brussels—Residence at Liege, at Chaude-Fontaine, at Sohan near Spa, at Antwerp, at Malines—Death of Napoleon—Return to France—Conclusion 304

MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

[CONTINUATION FROM BALCOMBE'S COTTAGE.]

Reflections on the Emperor's Letter.—New Obstacles started by Sir Hudson Lowe.

From Tuesday, Dec. 17th, to Thursday 19th, 1816.—The Emperor's letter proved a source of real consolation to me. It was continually present in my thoughts: it dissipated my alarms, strengthened my resolution, and in short it rendered me truly happy. I read it carefully over and over again. I weighed every word it contained. From my own knowledge of the Emperor, I thought I could guess how he had been induced to write it. I could conceive what would be his uneasiness respecting the cause of my removal, and his surprise on hearing of the clandestine correspondence. From his constant habit of considering things in every possible point of view, I felt convinced that his penetration had enabled him to discover precisely what had taken place, and that he had determined to write to me in consequence. My

conjectures on all these points proved to be correct; for I afterwards learned that the Emperor, after some delay, had determined to write to me, without knowing what might be the nature of the papers which had caused my arrest.

Need I say how dearly I prized this letter! I who had so frequently heard the Emperor declare that he would not write to his wife, his mother, or his brothers, since he could not do so without having his letters opened and read by his jailers. But my letter had been opened with his own consent and with his own hands; for, after it was sent to Sir Hudson Lowe by the officer on guard, it was returned with the observation, that it could not be delivered to me until it should be read and approved by the Governor. The Emperor was reclining on his sofa at the moment when the letter was brought back to him, with this new obstacle. He uttered not a word, but raising his hand over his head, he took the letter, broke the seal, and immediately returned it, without even looking at the person who had presented it.

Another circumstance which rendered this letter valuable in my eyes, was that it bore the Emperor's full signature; and I knew how much he disliked to sign his name at length, in the new circumstances in which he was placed. This, I believe, was the first time he had signed his name at full length since he had been at St. Helena, and from an inspection of the original, it is easy to perceive

that it cost him some degree of consideration. At first he wrote with his own hand, merely the date: "*Longwood, December* 11, 1816," concluding with his usual cipher. But conceiving this to be insufficient, he added, lower down: "*your devoted, Napoleon,*" repeating his cipher. The whole bears evident traces of having been written under feelings of embarrassment.*

But the greatest satisfaction which the Emperor's letter afforded me, was that it pointed out precisely the course which I had previously determined on adopting. "I *entreat* you, and in case of urgency, I *command* you, to quit the island," said the Emperor; and this was exactly what I had resolved to do, during the first days of my seclusion, while separated from all my friends, and having no counsellor but myself. I can no longer, I thought, be of any great service to the Emperor here; but I may, perhaps, be useful to him elsewhere. I will go to England, and appeal to the Ministers. They cannot suspect my conduct to be premeditated; seeing that I have been snatched, as it were, from sudden death. Whatever I say, will evidently come from my heart. I will paint the truth, and they cannot but be touched with the

* This letter was written by one of Napoleon's suite; but the Emperor himself, with his own hand, marked the punctuation. I have mentioned in a former part of my Journal, that in his writing, the Emperor was perfectly careless of orthography; yet it is singular that in the letter here alluded to, he has himself corrected the slightest errors.

miseries I shall unfold to them. They will ameliorate the condition of the illustrious captive, and I will myself return and lay at his feet the consolation which my zeal will have procured.

I therefore resumed my prayers and entreaties; and a circumstance which the more induced me to do so, was, that my son had just then been seized with a relapse, and had been for half an hour in a state of insensibility, without any other assistance than I was capable of affording him. My distress and anxiety may be easily conceived; and I was myself very much indisposed. I wrote a letter to the Governor, in which I said:—"You reduce me to the utmost possible misery. What a terrible responsibility you are taking upon yourself! You are a father; and alarms like those which now distress me, may, perhaps, one day remind you of my unavailing entreaties." It was evident, that, by detaining us, he was hurrying us to our graves. I was unable to conceive what could induce him thus to involve himself in new difficulties; it appeared to me most natural that he should prefer letting us die elsewhere.

Sir Hudson Lowe called that very day. He said, the note he had received respecting my son's health was the occasion of his visit. He had sent for Dr. Baxter, who arrived soon after him.

In the course of a long conversation, I could very well discern that Sir Hudson Lowe had now some secret object in view with respect to me. We reciprocally sounded each other on various

points; and the Governor concluded by observing, that he could not send me back to England, because I insisted on carrying my Journal along with me; while, on the other hand, it was claimed by the Emperor, as it had been written by his order. The cunning and absurdity of this reasoning, were sufficiently obvious. Then, as if seized by a sudden thought, and a momentary feeling of condescension, he added, that if I wished to return to Longwood, he would very willingly agree to it. I trembled to hear this. . . . . However, recollecting the letter and the significant words of the Emperor, I replied, that though the idea of returning to Longwood was wholly contrary to my present intention, yet, if the Emperor expressed a desire to that effect, I should immediately change my resolution. Sir Hudson Lowe observed, that he had good reason to believe the Emperor did wish for my return. The Governor's thoughts were evidently occupied with some new scheme or other respecting me; but I could not guess what it was. I signified that it would be necessary for me to write to Longwood, to learn what were the Emperor's wishes. To this the Governor did not positively object, but he expressed himself with the utmost obscurity. At length he departed; at least I supposed him gone. He had, however, merely withdrawn for a time, to hold a conference with his confidential officer; after which he came to inform me, that having considered the business,

he thought it advisable for me to write to the Grand Marshal on the subject of my return to Longwood, at the same time observing, that according to the manner in which I might express myself in my letter, the Emperor would or would not be induced to signify a wish for my return. This was very certain, and I could not but smile at the observation. Wishing to record the most important points of our long conversation, and in the hope of bringing matters to a conclusion, I addressed the following letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, immediately after he left me.

"Sir,—I recollect that during your visit to me, when speaking of the circumstances which had withheld you from coming to any determination respecting me, you observed, that one of the obstacles which prevented you from sending me to Europe, was, that my Journal, which I insisted on taking with me, had, at the same time, been claimed at Longwood. With this twofold demand, you said, it was out of your power to comply. I have no doubt, Sir, that you, in your wisdom, have had good reasons for suffering this difficulty to subsist, when you might so easily have obviated it. Every word, every hint from Longwood, is my supreme law. I should have immediately renounced my papers, on being made acquainted with the Emperor's demand; and probably that demand would have ceased, had my wish been communicated to Longwood. At all events, I shall esteem it as a

favour, if you will be pleased to convey to the Emperor my sentiments on this subject, as a mark of my profound and everlasting respect, and with the view of obviating further difficulty. The more I reflect, the more I am astonished that so simple and unimportant an affair as mine, should have given rise to so much discussion. This will only serve to encourage and to impart a greater degree of probability to the idea, that my two clandestine letters were merely the pretence, and my other papers the real, cause of your conduct: and a circumstance which will particularly prejudice your character in this affair, is the great interest which you seem to have taken in detaining my Journal, a portion of which relates to yourself personally. By refusing to send me to England, you but confirm the suspicion that you are afraid, lest your conduct here should reach the ears of your countrymen. You ought rather to have been thankful for the opportunity I should have afforded you, of solemnly proving the contrary. I should have furnished you with the means of completely clearing yourself. All this, however, belongs entirely to the jurisdiction of moral feeling and opinion. A fact that is more positive, as belonging to the direct jurisdiction of the laws, is that you kept in solitary confinement, for several months, until the return of answers which you expected from England, a man who, having withdrawn himself from his voluntary subjection to you, and formally, de-

manded leave to quit the island, reduced himself to this simple dilemma.

"You are exercising over me an *arbitrary act*. I call upon you to observe the laws. If I am not guilty, send me away. If I am, deliver me up to justice, and let me take my trial. But you mention papers which you have in your possession. If these papers are unconnected with the matter in question, restore them to me; if they are connected with it, consign them to my judges and me along with them. But these papers, you tell me, are claimed by another individual. I shall renounce them whenever you may make me acquainted with his wish; or probably that individual will relinquish his claim, whenever you make him acquainted with mine. The whole business is reduced to these simple questions. However, the great object of my letter is to request that you will be pleased to convey to Longwood a new proof of my respect for the Emperor. As to writing to Longwood myself respecting the favour of returning thither as you suggested, I shall wait until I have the honour of seeing you again, before I make up my mind on the subject.

"I remain," &c.

Official Decision respecting my Removal to the Cape.—Artful and ridiculous Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe.—Letters.

20th, 21st.—Sir Hudson Lowe, harassed by my incessant appeals to him, and perplexed by the awkward situation in which he had placed himself,

began apparently to repent of having made so much noise about so trifling a matter. He evidently wished to see me return to the Emperor, which of course would have relieved him of all embarrassment, and would have put an end to the whole business. Consequently, with the view of inducing me the more speedily to adopt this step, the Governor addressed to me the official decision respecting my removal to the Cape of Good Hope; and this document he accompanied by a letter in which he once more mentioned, in very studied language, the facility he afforded me of returning to Longwood. I have avoided, as far as possible, inserting the documents connected with this correspondence, and have abridged several of my own letters through the fear of fatiguing the reader. However, it is proper that I should produce all that is necessary for the explanation of this affair, and I therefore subjoin the official decision, and the letter to which I have just alluded.

DECLARATION.

"The Governor having duly considered all the circumstances relative to the affair of Count Las Cases, has adopted the following decision:—

"Count Las Cases having committed a direct and premeditated violation of the regulations established at St. Helena, by virtue of the authority of the British Government, relative to General Bonaparte, in corrupting the fidelity of an inhabitant of

the island, so far as to render him, in a criminal and underhand way, the bearer of secret and clandestine letters for Europe; and having thus broken one of the indispensable conditions to which he voluntarily acquiesced when he signed his declaration to obtain leave to reside at St. Helena, the said Count Las Cases has been separated from the person of General Bonaparte; and, in conformity with the instructions of the British Government, he will be transported to the Cape of Good Hope.

"Count Las Cases is permitted to take with him all his property and papers, excepting, however, such of the latter as may have reference to General Bonaparte, since the time he has been under the authority of the British Government, and also such correspondence as may not have passed through the official channel of the English authorities.

"The Governor will await the orders of the British Government respecting those papers, the nature of which may be the subject of dispute.

(Signed) "HUDSON LOWE."

"*Plantation House, Dec. 20,* 1816."

Letter from Sir Hudson Lowe, which accompanied the preceding Document.

"Sir,—In communicating to you the enclosed decision, permit me to mention, what I have already stated verbally, that I shall make no objection to your remaining on the island, if you prefer

to do so, rather than proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, there to wait until I receive instructions from the British Government respecting you.

"In case you should prefer remaining at St. Helena, I conceive it necessary to require from you a declaration, expressing your wish to that effect, and a promise to submit to the same restrictions under which you have hitherto been permitted to reside here.

"Thus, Sir, it is entirely at your own option, either to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or to remain here, with your papers under seal, until I shall receive instructions from Government.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "HUDSON LOWE."

I immediately acknowledged the receipt of these two documents, at the same time requesting an acknowledgment of the receipt of all my letters, for as yet I had had no intimation of any one of them having been received. Wishing to reply to the Governor's offer of allowing me to return to Longwood, I instantly addressed a letter on this subject to the Grand Marshal, which I sent to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order that he might peruse it, and forward it to its destination. The following is the substance of the letter.

"Sir,—The Governor, with great politeness and interest, has offered to permit me to return to Longwood. On my declining to avail myself of this

offer, and observing that I could not return thither, except by the express wish of the Emperor, Sir H. Lowe remarked that he had reason to believe the Emperor wished for my return. This wish, Sir, would be my supreme law: it would overwhelm my heart, and would instantly subdue the firmness with which I have resolved to endure inexpressible hardships, from respect to the laws and to my own character.

"Meanwhile, before I receive the expression of such a wish on the part of the Emperor, which I invoke with all my heart, I shall feel happy in being enabled to make you acquainted with the motives which influenced my first refusal.

"I therefore request that the Governor will be pleased to communicate to you my correspondence with him, dated the 30th of November, and the 2d, 4th, and 18th of December. He cannot surely object to a thing which will be satisfactory to us, and perfectly indifferent to him; for, if I return to Longwood, I shall myself have the opportunity of making you acquainted with these letters; and if I do not return, you will know their contents, it is true, but that will be a matter of little importance, since not being able to communicate together, it will be out of our power to derive any respective advantage from them. The only real result, therefore, would be the satisfaction I should enjoy in making known to you my opinions and sentiments on this occasion.

"My gratitude would be perfect, and the generosity of the Governor complete, if he would explain to me, that my return to Longwood would be in no manner prejudicial to my interests legally considered, and would be wholly unconnected with his own: and this he might very easily do.

"Be this as it may, Sir, all these considerations would vanish, should a single word or sign from the Emperor permit me to return to his presence, and enjoy the happiness of which I am now deprived. I shall hasten to throw myself at his feet, the moment I receive permission. All this would be only for my own gratification, it would spring entirely from my own sentiments; but my attachment to the Emperor, and my profound respect for his wishes, are stronger than these feelings."

It will scarcely be credited, that Sir Hudson Lowe sent back this letter. He had drawn a pencil mark across every passage to which he objected, and had reduced the whole to a few lines, thus assuming the privilege of dictating to me, what I was to write to Count Bertrand. The returned letter was accompanied by the following communication, which the Governor observed would serve as an answer to all my preceding correspondence:—

"Sir,—I consider the letter and decision which I had the honour to address to you yesterday, as a general answer to the different arguments contained in your correspondence with me.

" It was, Sir, the state of your son's health, and the complication of troubles, mental and bodily, so forcibly described in your letters of the 6th and 7th instant, which induced me, on the receipt of the letter, to wait upon you in person, and offer you permission to return to Longwood, where you might constantly procure medical aid, of the want of which I have never heard any complaint during the whole time of your residence there.

" A sentiment of consideration for the individual from whom you have been separated, also influences me in making this offer.

" I cannot, however, consent to become the medium of any discussion or negotiation which you may wish to maintain on this subject, with the individuals at Longwood. The only communication which I can authorize, will be that for the purpose of ascertaining whether your return be wished for, on the conditions attached to the prolongation of your residence on the island, such as I expressed them to you in my letter of yesterday. Communications on this point, with a brief summary to the General, are all that I can take upon me to transmit.

" The permission of returning to Longwood, implies the necessity of a candid explanation on every point.

" In case you should not return, I conceive that to render myself the channel of a prolonged correspondence on the subject in question, would be

a fresh ground of irritation and inconvenience to all parties.

"A great variety of details, entirely personal and foreign to the question, which are contained in your different letters, do not appear to me to require any official reply. These letters are at the same time, so mingled up with matter that may be considered as bearing an official character, that one cannot remain unanswered any more than another.

"To enter into so many minute particulars, would require more leisure than a multiplicity of other business will permit me to devote to such a purpose. I am at present putting together some observations on the whole of your correspondence, and I will send you a copy of them when finished.* I may even communicate them to Longwood. In the mean while the decision, which I have sent you, and the letter by which it was accompanied, must serve as a reply to all your communications.

"I return your letter, addressed to Count Bertrand. I have underlined several passages, which appear to me to be very much out of place, or which it would at least be useless to communicate.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "H. LOWE."

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* Count Las Cases never heard any thing more of these observations. Not a single line was ever communicated to him on the subject.

Correspondence continued.—The Governor disconcerted by my final Determination.

22d, 23d.—The Governor came to ascertain the effect of his declaration and his two letters. He doubted not but they had produced a great impression, and he calculated on finding my letter to the Grand Marshal ready written, with the corrections he had suggested; which communication, he expected, would bring about my return to Longwood. But I coolly informed him, that since he had taken upon himself to dictate to me, I would not write at all. At this, he appeared surprised and disconcerted, and after some reflection, he went so far as to inquire whether the corrections which he had made, were the only obstacles that deterred me. This unusual condescension on his part, was a sufficient guide for me. I therefore continued firm; and cut the matter short by observing, that in the evening, he should receive from me my irrevocable determination, and the reasons on which it was grounded, together with my remarks on the different letters which he had addressed to me. I wished, by this means, to avoid fugitive verbal observations, which are always easily denied. I preferred recording on paper, what I had to say. My letter was as follows:—

"Sir,—You have sent back to me, with your corrections, the letter which I wrote to Count Bertrand, respecting your verbal offer of granting me

permission to return to Longwood. But as it almost always happens here, this offer was sincere only in appearance, and it was doomed to expire in the details of its execution. I was not much surprised at this. After your departure the other day, when I came to reflect on the offer you had made, I foresaw that the matter would terminate as it really has done. You had the candour to tell me that you could not permit me and the individuals at Longwood to combine our ideas; or, in other words, to ascertain our *real wishes*. You have, doubtless, very good reasons for this. I say nothing against it; only I cannot suffer myself to be duped, or to be the means of leading into error those who take an interest in my fate. You are too advantageously situated, Sir, between Longwood and me; and if I must write to Count Bertrand, not my own sentiments, but what you may think proper to dictate, I decline holding any communication with him. I shall regard your offer as never having been made, because it cannot possibly be accepted; and I must refer irrevocably for my thoughts, sentiments, and decisions on this subject, to my letter of the 30th of November.

"You mistake, Sir, if you suppose that I wished for answers to all the arguments and articles contained in my letters. I am aware of the importance of your occupations, and the value of your time, and therefore I merely requested an acknowledgment of the receipt of my letters for the sake

of regularity. I presumed you could have no reason to refuse this.

"You seem surprised, Sir, at the deplorable state of my own and my son's health; and you twice express astonishment that I should not have complained to you on the subject, when I was at Longwood. I thought but little about my health, Sir, when I was at Longwood; and besides, when I felt indisposed, I considered it more advisable to complain to the Doctor than to the Governor. With regard to my son, I am surprised you should have heard nothing of his situation, considering the consultations that have been held on his case, the fits he has suffered, and the many times he has been bled. Is it to be wondered at if our present circumstances increase our infirmities?

"I now come to your order for my removal to the Cape. I find that all the papers which have any reference to the august individual to whom I have devoted my existence, are to be detained. What other papers, Sir, can I be possessed of? What is meant by saying that I am free to carry away all the rest? Is not this making an offer, and yet granting nothing?

"You detain my Journal, the sole and real object of all this misunderstanding; the depository, yet incomplete and incorrect, in which I daily registered all that I thought, saw, or heard. Can any of my papers be more valuable to me than this? You cannot pretend to have been ignorant of its

contents, since I suffered you to peruse it for two hours at your own discretion. Will you not be responsible for having abused this privilege? Will you not, perhaps, one day have to justify yourself for the false notions which you have doubtless transmitted to the English Ministers respecting this manuscript? You have called it a *Political Journal.* I had no right, you have observed, in the situation in which I was placed, to keep any account of what was said by the Emperor Napoleon, and you particularly object to my having introduced official documents into my Journal. As if all that I saw, read, and heard, did not by right, and without impropriety, belong to my own thoughts, and form a part of my own property, so long as the record was kept private and secret! Who would suppose that such principles could have been imbibed amidst the liberal ideas of England? Do they not rather partake of the odious police maxims of the continent? And after all, what are the contents of this Journal? It describes the sublime language and conduct of the august individual who is the object of it, the incidents of his life, and also many things which are probably not very agreeable to you! But who will have given publicity to these facts? The whole was to have been retouched, altered, and corrected. Who has prevented this? However, Sir, you may rest assured, that the circumstances which have just taken place, shall never induce me

to say any thing concerning you, which I do not firmly believe to be true.

"In your decision of the 20th of October, you declare that I shall be removed from Longwood, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope. From the form and language of this decision, it might naturally be supposed, that it was hostile to my wishes; while, in reality, you thereby pronounce a sentence, which is now, and has been for many days past, foreign to the new question that has risen up between us. You remove from Longwood one, who, twenty days ago, withdrew from the subjection to your authority, in which he had voluntarily placed himself; and who, for the last eighteen days, has been formally demanding his removal from the island. Who would ever guess these facts, from a perusal of your document? You enclose your decision in a letter, in which you leave me the choice of submitting to your sentence or returning to Longwood. But by embracing the happiness which you thus hold out to me, I should secure to you the triumph and satisfaction of being master of my most private papers; I should again become your captive, and should be liable to the same searches and seizures, whenever you might be pleased to make them. . . . No, Sir! I can make no choice. I can only repeat what I have already said before. I resign myself to the laws. If I am guilty, let me be tried; if I am not guilty, restore me to liberty. If my papers are uncon-

nected with this affair, return them to me. If you think it proper to submit them to serious examination, transmit them to the English Ministers, and let me be sent with them. Besides, as my own and my son's health imperiously require every kind of medical assistance, I earnestly implore you to send us to England.

" Nothing was more simple than this affair, and yet it has been involved in difficulty. In vain you refer to your instructions; they never can be made to apply to cases so peculiar as this. Your own wavering determination proves to me that your instructions are neither clear nor precise. You wished at first to keep me on the island in solitary confinement, and separated from Longwood; you did not think it right to send me to the Cape. You now torture the literal meaning of your instructions, in order to give them a forced interpretation. But recollect that you will be held responsible to your Government for having misconstrued them, and to me for having violated the law in my person. Recollect that most of your measures will ultimately appear to have been vexatious and arbitrary acts. I know not what rights, what resources your laws will afford me; but I slumber in this ignorance; for I trust they will protect me in some way or other. You expect to be rid of me when I shall be removed to the Cape, separated from my papers, which you intend to detain in your possession. But even should I be kept a prisoner

there, the winds shall waft my complaints hitherward. I will make known the mental wounds and bodily sufferings, which you will thus have been the means of aggravating; for if I should be detained at the Cape, it must be through you, either by your direct orders or secret instructions. Sealed papers cannot be opened except in the presence of the party interested. Will you have me brought back from the Cape, for the purpose of breaking the seals that are affixed to mine? Or will you detain me at the Cape until you receive orders to send my papers to England? What object is to be gained by all this? There was, and still is, a simple mode of arranging every thing! My natural disposition to accommodate, made me, as it were, anticipate every difficulty. I was ready to obviate all. I would willingly have subjected myself in England to any preliminary measures, however arbitrary, that might have been equivalent to the quarantine of the Cape. The state of my own and my son's health was a valid reason for to doing.

"The fear of departing from the literal meaning of any particular point in your instructions, has, with you, been more powerful than the necessity and the right of yielding to their spirit, to the force of circumstance, and the feelings of humanity. It is not yet too late to grant what I solicit. I am willing to believe that humanity will determine you; and if so I shall remain your debtor. The circumstance of the papers being claimed at Long-

wood and by me, cannot be regarded as a reasonable obstacle. Besides, it may be asked what you have done to remove it? Do you wish that I should myself write on the subject? Three words would suffice to bring us to an understanding.

"At all events, Sir, whatever determination you may come to; whatever vexation you may reserve for me, nothing can be comparable to what I suffer in being detained on this horrible island, separated from the august individual whom I followed hither. The hours and minutes that I pass in this situation, are like years in my unfortunate life, and dangerously aggravate my son's precarious state of health. I therefore again demand, and shall incessantly demand, that you will remove me from this hated place. I am," &c.

The Governor was very much vexed by my determination of not returning to Longwood, though I could not exactly guess the reason why. However, my resolution was fully confirmed on the following day, when he came to me, and after a long and very obscure preamble, respecting his sincerity and good intentions, he told me that to facilitate my communication with Longwood, he would consent to forward my first letter to Count Bertrand, in the form in which I had myself written it; and moreover to send along with it a copy of all my correspondence; a thing which he had hitherto constantly refused to do. But the more he made concessions, the more firmly I rejected

them:—"'Tis too late," said I, "the die is cast. "I have pronounced sentence upon myself. I will "not write to Longwood, and I demand for the "hundredth time, that you will remove me hence "without further delay."—"At least, then," said the Governor, "will you communicate to Long-"wood my offers and your refusal."—"I have no "objection to do that," I replied. Sir Hudson Lowe then departed, very much disconcerted, mentioning as a last inducement, that he could only send us away on board a transport, that he did not know when the vessel might sail, and that there was no medical man on board, which would be a serious inconvenience, considering the state of my son's health.

Our Removal from Balcombe's Cottage to the Town.

24th.—My son was exceedingly ill during the night, and I was myself very much indisposed. At daybreak I sent to request the immediate attendance of Doctors Baxter and O'Meara; and in the extremity of my despair, I also wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, assuring him it was impossible we could longer endure the treatment we were now suffering. I reminded him that, in spite of my son's dangerous condition, it was now more than seven days since we had seen a medical attendant; and that owing to our inconvenient situation, the Doctors, in spite of their good intentions, found it impossible to visit us. I therefore urged the ne-

cessity of our quitting the cottage without delay: and I begged that we might be conveyed to the town, even to the common jail, if he found it necessary. This letter produced an immediate effect. I received, on the return of the orderly, a note from the Governor, stating that I should that day by conveyed to his own residence in the town. In the evening an officer came to conduct us thither. How anxiously did we turn our eyes towards Longwood at the moment of departure! What were our thoughts and sensations as we proceeded along the road! What a wound was inflicted on my heart when, for the last time, I turned to look on Longwood, and saw it gradually disappear from my eyes!

Our Residence at the Governor's Castle.—Better Treatment, &c.

25th to 28th.—We now found ourselves removed to the Governor's residence, which is called the Castle. It is a spacious building, and agreeably situated. Our condition was now changed very much for the better. We were still guarded by sentinels, it is true; but every thing was under my orders, and there seemed to be an endeavour to furnish us profusely with every thing. "Do not spare," the major-domo often repeated, "the honourable "East India Company pays for all." But these tardy attentions produced little effect upon me. I had but one object in view, namely, a prompt decision, and

that I could not obtain. The Governor came to me every day, but it was merely to utter a few complimentary phrases, and not a word of my affairs. However, it was now indispensable to come to the point. The endless difficulties that had arisen, and my endeavours to avert them, had kept me in a continual state of agitation; and vexation of mind was combined with grief of heart. This complication of misery had wrought a kind of revolution in my whole frame. I suddenly felt myself ten years older, and experienced the first symptoms of those infirmities, which have ever since been daily increasing, and which will only terminate with my life.

I was absolutely in a critical state when I arrived in the town. The Governor was struck with my extreme debility and the change that had taken place in my appearance. I was scarcely able to maintain the conversation. Apparently with the intention of rousing me, Sir Hudson Lowe mentioned that the Emperor had expressed a very great wish to see me before my departure. On hearing this, I was deeply moved; tears flowed from my eyes, and I was so incapable of bearing this violent emotion that I nearly fainted. My son afterwards informed me that the Governor appeared very much embarrassed by the condition to which he saw me reduced. However, making an effort to collect my strength, I once more begged that Sir Hudson Lowe would give orders for my re-

moval as speedily as possible. He at length determined that my departure should take place two days afterwards. He informed me that he had procured a ship of war, which would be more suitable for my conveyance, while at the same time I should enjoy the advantage of having a medical attendant on board.

The Emperor's Message to me.—The Grand Marshal's Farewell.

29th.—Early this morning an officer came to request that we would pack up our things to be conveyed on board the ship, as it was determined we should depart very shortly. This we looked upon as the hour of our deliverance. In a few minutes, all that we possessed was packed up, and and we were in perfect readiness. At length the wished-for moment of departure was at hand. How our sentiments vary according to the circumstances in which we happen to be placed. But a short time ago I should have considered it the greatest misfortune that could befal me to have been separated from the Emperor, and removed from St. Helena. But my late resolutions, the manifest wish of Sir Hudson Lowe, the positive words of the Emperor: "*I request you, and in case of need, I command you, to quit this island;*" together with other important observations which fell from him in the course of previous conversation, and which I cannot hint at here, though they

are entirely foreign to politics; and finally, the chimeras which my own imagination had conjured up; all now caused me to dread the thought of being longer detained. The hour of departure had already been specified, yet I nevertheless experienced the most cruel suspense, which the Governor seemed to justify by keeping away nearly the whole of the day. Impatience and anxiety had thrown me into a fever; when, about six o'clock in the evening, the Governor, whom I now despaired of seeing, made his appearance. After a little preamble in his usual way, he informed me that he had brought the Grand Marshal to take leave of me, and he conducted me into the adjoining apartment where I had the happiness of embracing that esteemed companion of my exile. The Emperor had instructed the Grand Marshal to tell me that "he should see me desert with pleasure, and see me remain with pleasure." These were his words. He added, that he knew my heart, and my sentiments; and that he reposed full and entire confidence in me. As to the chapters of the Campaign of Italy, which I had requested permission to keep as a dear and precious memento, he granted them without hesitation, as well as any thing else that might happen to be in my possession; for he was pleased to say that, while they were in my hands he should consider them as being still in his own. Sir Hudson Lowe was with us during this interview, at which

his presence was indispensable. The Grand Marshal commissioned me to make some purchases of books, and other things necessary or useful to the Emperor, and he particularly requested me to send the Moniteurs. Finally, he took leave of me, telling me significantly to act in all things as I should judge best.

As I expected, the friendship of the Grand Marshal served only to increase my distress. He expressed his regret for my departure, and tried to suggest reasons for inducing me to remain. "His "absence," said he, in a very graceful manner, addressing himself to the Governor, "will be re- "gretted by us all. It will be a loss to the Em- "peror, and it will even be a loss to you, Sir "Hudson Lowe. You will soon be convinced of "this." The Governor replied by an approving bow; and both endeavoured to prevail on me to change my resolution. I could easily guess the Governor's reasons for this; but I could not so well divine the cause of the Grand Marshal's entreaties, particularly after the message which he had just delivered to me from the Emperor. Besides, he was aware that, in addition to the numerous powerful motives which urged me to depart, Sir Hudson Lowe, as I believe I have already mentioned, offered not the least concession on his part. He insisted on retaining my papers, and required my implicit submission. By this means, I should, as it were, have legalized all his measures. By the

precedent thus granted, I should have authorized him to seize and imprison any one of us, whenever he might take a fancy to do so. I could not, without the Emperor's express command, submit to such outrages; and, therefore, I firmly resisted them.

It was now late in the evening, and as our final arrangements were not yet completed, the Governor postponed our departure until the following day. He saw that I was vexed at this, and to console me, he said he would permit the Grand Marshal to visit me again. However happy I might be, at the thought of seeing my friend once more, and receiving further communications from the Emperor, yet I was nevertheless distressed by this delay, which prolonged the conflict of my mind, and lacerated the wounds of my heart. There are victories which can only be obtained by flight; the victory I was pursuing was one of this kind.

Last Farewell.—Sealing of my Papers.—Departure.

30th.—I received an early visit from Admiral Malcolm. He came to introduce me to Capt. Wright, who was to convey me to the Cape on board the Griffin brig. The Admiral recommended me to Capt. Wright as his friend, and, in a very pleasing manner, assured me that I should have every reason to be satisfied with the endeavours that would be made to render things agreeable to

me. I duly appreciated this mark of delicate interest on the part of the Admiral, and the sentiment of sincere gratitude that arose in my heart was more forcibly felt than expressed. I was the more sensible of Admiral Malcolm's kindness, because his relations with the Governor rendered it a point of delicacy with him to shew me attention. Therefore, on the present occasion, he had the circumspection to bring along with him Sir Hudson Lowe's confidential man.

I looked forward to the decisive moment with my usual anxiety; for the Governor betrayed so much eagerness to induce me to remain, that I was fearful he would finally start some unforeseen obstacle to my departure.

About eleven o'clock the Grand Marshal arrived, accompanied by the Governor and some officers. He renewed his endeavours to prevail on me to return to Longwood; but without ever expressing the positive desire of the Emperor. Knowing my sentiments so well as he did, he must have been aware that a word would have decided me. But this word he did not pronounce, and he even avoided doing so when I pressed him to it, always referring to the Emperor's message, which he had delivered to me on the preceding day. Thus I had to defend myself against him, from whom I should have wished to receive support. His expressions of regard increased my distress, and I was perplexed between the wish of remaining, and the determi-

nation of departing. If my heart dictated the one course, courage demanded the other; and I continued inflexible.

I must not forget to mention that the Grand Marshal, in the course of conversation, informed me that the Emperor had wished to see me before my departure. The Governor, however, required that an English officer should be present during our interview; and the Emperor renounced his intention, observing, that I well knew he would deny himself the happiness of seeing his own wife and son on such conditions. How was I gratified by these words! . . .

I delivered to the Grand Marshal thirteen bills of exchange, on my banker in London, for the 4,000 louis, which I had so frequently offered to the Emperor, and which the Grand Marshal now informed me he had consented to accept. This was a real consolation to me.

This business being settled, General Gourgaud, who had accompanied the Grand Marshal, was also permitted to enter and take leave of me. This new mark of interest, joined to many others which the General had shewn me during my imprisonment, failed not to produce an impression on my heart.

The Grand Marshal and the General remained with me for a considerable time, and Sir Hudson Lowe had the politeness to say that they might, if they pleased, stay and breakfast with me. He re-

tired, taking with him all his people, with the exception of the officer on duty at Longwood, who had escorted the gentlemen to the castle. This officer was Captain Poppleton, with whose conduct we had always found reason to be perfectly satisfied. During our breakfast, over which we sat for a very long time, we certainly might, in spite of the presence of Captain Poppleton, have found means to make secret communications with each other; but we had none to make, and not a syllable of a private nature passed between us. Had I foreseen this unexpected circumstance, I might have put into my son's hands the whole of my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, and it might, by this means, have been easily transmitted to Longwood. However, on reflection, I congratulated myself on not having made any such attempt. I still distrusted Sir Hudson Lowe, and from the endeavours he made to prevail on me to remain, he would certainly have availed himself of such a discovery as an excuse for changing all the arrangements that had been made, and issuing fresh orders.

Breakfast being ended, I was the first who had courage to rise and take farewell. I sent to request that the Governor would come and execute the final measures. I embraced my friends, and they left me. General Gourgaud, at parting, several times feelingly alluded to the little vexations which had occasionally risen up between us. I

felt happy in expressing my conviction that they had been wholly occasioned by the painful circumstances in which we were placed, and that our hearts had no share in them. I cherish, with sincere gratitude, the remembrance of the kind attentions which I received from General Gourgaud, during the latter period of my residence at St. Helena.*

Sir Hudson Lowe, on his return, seeing the Grand Marshal and General Gourgaud go out, said to me significantly, and with appearance of embarrassment and vexation, "So you do not in-"tend to return to Longwood? It may be pre-"sumed you have good reasons for refusing to do "so." A bow was my only reply; and I begged that the Governor would immediately proceed to seal up the papers, the only thing that now remained to be done. Some days previously, I had demanded that an authentic inventory of my papers should be made out: this was done; and I obtained a copy of it, signed by Sir Hudson Lowe. All that was now to be done, was to affix the seals. The Governor delayed this for-

* I may here repeat a correction respecting General Gourgaud, which I could only insert in the index to Part IV. because the fact was not communicated to me until after the volume was printed.

It was, by mistake, mentioned in Part I. that General Gourgaud negotiated for permission to proceed to St. Helena. He was one of the individuals selected by the Emperor.

mality until the last moment, and he concluded it in a way perfectly characteristic of his disposition. He told me, in very fair words, but with an appearance of constraint, that out of respect for the Emperor, as well as from personal consideration for me, he would willingly permit me to affix my seal to the papers, provided I would consent that he should break it, during my absence, if he thought necessary. I smiled at this proposal, and declined it; upon which he walked with hasty strides up and down the room for some time, and then, as if coming to a sudden determination, he exclaimed, "I will take the whole upon myself; I will dis-"pense with your seal." He called in the Government Secretary, and the seals of the island were affixed to the papers in my presence. I requested that he would furnish me with a declaration of his refusal to permit me to seal them with my arms, or the singular condition he had attached to my doing so. This was a new subject of hesitation; but the point was at length settled, by the Governor furnishing me with the declaration, in the following terms:—

Declaration of Sir Hudson Lowe to Count de Las Cases.

"In consequence of what was stated in the Governor's decision relative to the affair of Count de Las Cases, a great number of the Count's papers are now, at the moment of his departure from the island, detained.

"The Governor, whose special duty it is to suffer no papers whatever coming from Longwood, to leave the island, without being previously examined, has, however, for private reasons, hitherto abstained from noticing all that were sent by Count Las Cases. The Governor has determined that the papers belonging to the Count, which have been detained, (and of which Sir Hudson Lowe knows only the general tenour,) shall be put into two separate packets, and deposited in the treasury of the island, until orders be received from Government respecting them.

"Count de Las Cases may affix his seal to each of these packets, with the understanding that the seal may be broken, either in case it should be necessary to convey the packets from the island, in conformity with orders from Government; or in case the interest of the service should require the packets to be opened.

"Thus, the affixing of this seal is merely a moral guarantee, which the Governor offers to Count Las Cases for his own satisfaction, to afford him the assurance of the packets not being opened, except for one of the urgent reasons above specified.

"If, under these circumstances, Count Las Cases should decline affixing his seals to the packets, or refuse to accede to the condition on which the affixing of his seal is permitted, the Governor, who cannot permit any sealed packet, or

any papers whatever, coming from Longwood, to pass from his hands, without examination, considers as necessary, every precaution calculated to assure his Government that he has adopted proper measures for the security of the papers that are detained, until he shall receive orders respecting them.

"Count Las Cases having refused to affix his seal on the conditions above mentioned, the papers, divided into two distinct packets, have been deposited in two boxes, sealed with the seals of the Government and the Island.

(Signed) "H. LOWE."

"*Dec.* 31, 1816."

All business being now settled between us, Sir Hudson Lowe, by a characteristic turn of behaviour, which he had oftener than once exhibited since I had been his prisoner, either from motives of civility or calculation, immediately wrote for me several letters of introduction to his private friends at the Cape, who, he assured me, would prove very agreeable to me. I had not the courage to refuse these letters, such was the sincerity with which they appeared to be offered. At length, the long looked-for moment of departure arrived. The Governor accompanied me to the gate of the castle, and ordered all his officers to attend me to the place of embarkation; this, he said, was intended as a mark of respect. I eagerly jumped

into the boat which was in readiness to receive me. I crossed the port, and passed near a vessel which had just arrived from the Cape, on board of which, to my surprise, I observed the Pole and the three servants who had been sent away from us, several months before, and who were now on their way to Europe. They saluted me by gestures as I passed, and I need not say how much I was astonished to see them. One of these individuals was the bearer of the only document which escaped from the island, namely, the letter on the subject of the allied Commissioners. I doubted not but the discovery that had been made with respect to my servant, would furnish the Governor with an excuse for searching those persons, who were far from suspecting such a thing. Fortunately, however, no search took place, and the faithful Santini had the merit of being the first to convey to Europe any authentic account of Longwood.

At length I got fairly on board the brig: she weighed anchor; and I thought my last wishes accomplished. But these vain illusions were destined to be cruelly destroyed; and my ultimate experience of the hearts of certain men, proved that all the hopes I had formed were but vain chimeras... How could I so far deceive myself as to rely on the sensibility of those very men, who, in defiance of all law, had pronounced the sentence and ordered the execution?—Why did I not stay to administer domestic consolation, rather than dream of render-

ing remote serviees? I might have continued my daily attentions for some time longer, and have obtained some additional marks of interest; and when the fatal moment arrived, I should have had my share in the general grief. I might have contributed to assuage the anguish of Napoleon's last moments; and have helped to close his eyes! . . . But no! . . . Perhaps the effect of the climate, operating on my feeble state of health, would soon have hurried me from this world. I should, probably, not have lived to witness the sad event. . . . I should have been spared the grief that now presses upon my heart. . . I should not have had to struggle with the cruel infirmities brought from my place of exile. My ashes would there have reposed in peace; and thus to have closed my life, might have been looked upon as an additional favour of my happy star, or the last blessing of heaven!

This perhaps ought to be the conclusion of my Journal, since I am now removed from St. Helena, and can no longer record the words of the Emperor. However, the following pages are so intimately connected with what concerns Napoleon, that I am convinced I need offer no apology for continuing.

Passage from St. Helena to the Cape, a Space of Eighteen Days.—Our Grievances at Longwood.—Details, &c.

From Tuesday, Dec. 31st, 1816, to Friday, Jan. 17th, 1817.—When daylight appeared, St. Helena no longer existed for us, except in our hearts.—We were rapidly sailing away from that dear and accursed spot, in the midst of the ocean, and at an immense distance from both the old and the new world. The officers and the crew treated us with the most marked benevolence; their care, their attention, their deference, the sympathy they expressed were such, that, but for the language which I heard spoken, I might have fancied myself on board of a French vessel. To the shyness and circumspection of St. Helena, had succeeded a complete freedom from restraint. I then learnt how much I was indebted to Admiral Malcolm. It was he who had obtained for me the favour of a brig of war, instead of the wretched transport with which I had been threatened. As soon as he was apprized of Sir Hudson Lowe's determination, he hastened to go and offer him one of his ships, assuring him that he could spare one to save me from the inconveniences and the privations to which I should otherwise be exposed; and making a signal, he had brought into the harbour the Griffin, the commander of which was one of the officers whom he most liked. It has

already been seen, that the Admiral brought him with him to see me.

The Admiral had manifested a desire to see me, at the commencement of my captivity, but had, from motives of prudence, waited until the moment of my departure. He had chiefly dreaded, I was told, that I should lay my case before him, and appeal to him to judge between me and the Governor, with regard to whom he found himself placed in a very delicate situation. But he might have felt perfectly secure on that score; I had had too much experience, and seen too much to fall into such an error.

My son devoted part of our passage to copy some papers which we had purposely torn, and the fragments of which we had distributed in various places amongst our baggage, or about our persons. Sir Hudson Lowe had rendered the precaution necessary, by informing me a short time before, that he should again search my papers before my departure, in order to see what I might have written during my captivity. I took the liberty to represent to him, that such an act would be tyrannical in the extreme, and devoid of delicacy; "It would then turn out," said I, "that you "only allowed me the use of pens and paper, for "the purpose of possessing yourself of ideas, "which, but for that permission, I should have "kept to myself. This would be a most perfidious "snare, which your tribunals would no doubt

" condemn, and which would be strongly repro-
" bated by all upright minds." Sir Hudson Lowe probably felt the justice of this argument, for he never mentioned the subject again.

The most important of these papers, the document I valued most, was what I have called a statement of our grievances at Longwood.

Whilst I was in Sir Hudson Lowe's power, our conversations led me, at his own request, to make out a hasty statement enumerating our grievances. My son's ill health, and the state of my eyes, prevented us from taking a fair copy of that statement for ourselves. I had asked the Governor to let me have some person to copy for me, but which request he did not comply with, and I did not think it delicate to insist; since it was to lay before him a statement, which must be very unpleasant to him. On the other hand, as I was speaking without the knowledge of my companions, and yet frequently in their names, it was of great importance to me, that they should be acquainted with what I said, in order to set me right, if I had made any errors.

At the moment of my departure, I told Sir Hudson Lowe that I had completed the statement, and shewed him the parcel sealed, the contents of which, I said, I proposed to have copied at the Cape, or even on board the brig, and to send him two copies, one for himself, and one for Longwood. Sir Hudson appeared to value the offer

very much, but preferring, however, another arrangement, it was agreed, that I should immediately deposit my manuscript in the hands of a third person, in order that each party might take a copy of it, and that the original should afterwards be returned to me. I therefore sought some person whose honourable disposition inspired me with confidence ; General Bingham, the second in command in the Island, was the first person I thought of. To him I therefore addressed my manuscript, with the Governor's consent, and under the express condition, that it should be shewn at the same time to Sir Hudson Lowe, and to Count Bertrand, who was aware of the arrangement. I shall now proceed to lay that document before the reader ; it contains nothing but repetitions, no doubt ; but could that be otherwise? At all events, it will give an uninterrupted summary, and on that account must claim indulgence ; it is, besides, a document which it is indispensable for me to produce.

STATEMENT OF OUR GRIEVANCES AT LONGWOOD.

" Sir,—In the various interviews that have taken place between us in consequence of my personal captivity, some reflections have been interchanged concerning Longwood, which have frequently recurred to my mind. You have often repeated, *that we at Longwood were in error, and that we strove to remain so.* It is in vain that I have represented to you, that such was precisely the

observation, which we every day made between ourselves, with respect to you; you still continued to insist on this point, with the appearance of the most positive conviction. On another occasion you told me, that we ought to have stated *our grievances* to you; that you would have sent the statement to the British Ministers, and would willingly have given publicity to what personally related to yourself. I observed to you, that my letters which had passed through your hands, were tolerably well calculated to fulfil that object; that my letter to Prince Lucien, which occasioned my present seclusion, had been intended to pass through your hands in like manner, but that you had forbidden my writing any letters. *That prohibition*, you have said, *was on account of the reflections they contained.* But our sufferings being chiefly moral, must they not therefore necessarily give rise chiefly to *reflections?*

"These subjects, and several others of the same description, would have required to be more fully explained, they would have required a regular conversation quietly carried on between us, but you did not furnish any opportunity for such a conversation, and I did not seek for one. However, an impression has been thereby left on my mind, which has been strengthened by other incidental circumstances, that you have not the slightest notion of your position with respect to Longwood, or that you do not understand, and

are even unconscious of part of the wrongs you have inflicted upon us.

"This, though it does not obliterate those wrongs altogether in my opinion, has at least the effect of removing the most odious portion of them—the bad intention.

"From that instant, I formed the resolution to devote the leisure afforded by my seclusion, to inform you of those wrongs. My situation, and the moment are most favourable; I shall write calmly and without passion; I shall not feel that degree of animosity, which I should probably have felt at Longwood, before I saw you here; besides, this will only be my personal opinion; my statements will be purely individual; they will be dictated by the love of truth, and, shall I own it (see whether I can be just), by a kind of interest which I now feel towards you; for the unpleasant restraint under which I am now kept by you, does not prevent me from perceiving the politeness with which, at the same time, you treat me. Above all, Sir, read this calmly; recollect that these are *our grievances* which I am going to retrace, what I call *the wrongs*, either real or apparent, which you have inflicted upon us, and that I now state them here with the utmost candour, as if I were inserting them in my journal, or as if you were not to read them.

"And if I happen to err in some of the details, I request you will consider that you have deprived me of all my papers; that I can have no

access to the official documents, that I write from ecollection only, and that I am ready to retract every error of any consequence which you may point out to me.

" I shall take up the facts from the beginning.—

" By a sudden reverse, a great sovereign, at the summit of power, betrayed by fortune and men, had lost his throne and his liberty, and found himself thrown on a horrible rock in the midst of the ocean; and all these events had succeeded each other so rapidly, that every thing was accomplished before any thing had been determined. We therefore anxiously awaited at St. Helena the decision of our fate; but we awaited it at least with the consolation which the excess of misfortune can suggest, the belief that our situation could not possibly become worse than it was.

" The eyes of Europe," we said, " are fixed upon " our rock; and nations will now judge of the " conduct of kings: they doubtless will be lavish " of proofs of respect and marks of attention, in " expiation at least, of what they call political " necessity. In England, the language of the " legislature and the expression of public opi- " nion have tended to encourage such hopes, and " the British Ministers, the responsible deposita- " ries of the glory of their nation, cannot possibly, " on this occasion, gratify their own hatred, if they " have any, at the expense of morality and public " sentiments.

"A man is appointed to take the command "here, (you, Sir, were the person alluded to) "who holds a distinguished rank in the army: he "owes his fortune to his personal merit; his life "has been passed in diplomatic missions, at the "head-quarters of the sovereigns of the continent, "where the name, the rank, the power, the titles "of the Emperor Napoleon must have become "familiar to him. He will be acquainted with the "relations, both public and individual, that existed "between the Emperor and those sovereigns who, "for a long time, called him brother, who have "been his friends or allies, or are his kinsmen. "He will know that at Chatillon it depended "solely on the Emperor to reign in France with "the consent of England herself; and that at a "later period he might have retained the posses- "sion of other countries.

"This man," we said, "in his diplomatic career "will have formed just notions, both with respect "to persons and things: he probably laughs him- "self, now that the object is attained, at the mass "of falsehood and libel which fear and policy had "invented for the vulgar; and having been placed "in such situations, he would not now accept a "mission founded on principles different from "those thus established, and having any other ob- "ject than to better our present condition. His "arrival alone is therefore a sufficient pledge of "the favourable nature of his instructions with re-

"spect to us. '*Did you not tell me,*' said the "Emperor to us one day, '*that he was at Champ* "*Aubert and at Montmirail? We have then pro-* "*bably exchanged a few cannon balls together, and* "*that is always in my eyes a noble relation to stand* "*in.*'" Such were the dispositions in which Sir Hudson Lowe was expected.

"You arrived, Sir; and your first visit at Longwood was made at an improper hour; at an hour at which the Emperor had never received any body, and without having previously sent one of your aides-de-camp to inquire what time would be most agreeable to him, a formality which you would not certainly have omitted with your Ministers, or even with any person merely your superior, either in England or on the continent; and yet with whom were you acting thus? . . . . The Emperor did not receive you. This first step was not propitious, it must be admitted; but so much were we prepossessed in your favour, that we were willing to suppose, that being but just arrived in the island, advantage had been taken of that circumstance to induce you to begin with us by an insult. A few days afterwards, you were going round Longwood and extolling to one of us the beauty of that spot, which can only be for us a place of desolation. It was observed to you that there was a total want of shade, which was a great privation to the Emperor. *Trees shall be planted,* was your horrible reply, which penetrated to the

bottom of our hearts, but the cruelty of which, I now wish to believe, you did not yourself perceive.

"You brought with you an order, obliging us to make a declaration that our residence at St. Helena was quite voluntary, and that we engaged to submit to all the restrictions that might be imposed upon us. It was then whispered about amongst us, by whom or from what motive I know not, that in doing so, we were going to sign our exile for life; and yet you must have seen how willingly all, from the first officer down to the lowest servant, hastened to comply with this order. You came again a few days afterwards, with the signatures of the servants; you wanted, you said, to collect them together in order to speak to them, and you wished to have the Emperor's consent for that purpose. I replied to you, that you had the power to act as you thought proper, but that it would be useless to affect a mark of attention which would only be an additional insult: we were in the habit of considering the circle that surrounded the Emperor, as a sacred sanctuary. If your Ministers had granted twelve servants, which had not been asked of them, that was undoubtedly the private household which had been intended for the Emperor. Was it proper to come and interfere in it, to place yourself, as it were, between the Emperor and his valet? The important mission of the Governor of St. Helena could have no other object than to watch over the outer enclosure of

Longwood, but scrupulously to respect the asylum, the domestic arrangements of the interior; ought he to have intruded into a family circle? Be that as it may, you saw the servants in order to verify their declarations, without reflecting on the intolerable insult offered to us by that solemn measure. If your laws required such a security, you had so many indirect means of obtaining the assurance which you wanted!

"We, therefore, only saw, in such conduct, a preconcerted plan to humiliate and insult us. We said to ourselves that they had sent us a mere gaoler from England; our hearts were oppressed, our hopes fled, and the breach was made. On the other hand, your countenance began to assume an impression of hostility and dissatisfaction; the words that passed between us were far from being of an agreeable nature.

"You often repeated, we were informed, and you yourself even told us, that we suffered ourselves to be strangely deceived respecting our situation. What does he mean by that? said we to ourselves. How could we possibly deceive ourselves? We were in the Tuileries and gave laws; we are on a rock and wear chains! To see that, to speak thus, is it to deceive one's self? Is it the ease and freedom of our manners that surprises him? Would he wish to see us obsequious? Does he think us proud? And why should we not possess innate pride? And what is there more natural

than that our pride should increase in adversity? Is it not rather he who is deceived, and misapprehends his situation? Does he not know that condescension is becoming to power, and adds lustre to it? Can he not see that his glory is not to subdue, but rather to conciliate us; and that he is depriving himself of a noble page in the annals of history? If the manifestation of ill humour could ever be allowed, it ought only to be to us, the victims of oppression! Does he think himself surrounded by common objects, or placed in circumstances of common occurrence? The Emperor Napoleon has only lost his throne; a sudden reverse of fortune has deprived him of it; success would have fixed him on it: he has only lost perishable possessions, but all his sacred characters still remain. He is still the elect of a great nation, consecrated by religion, sanctioned by victory, acknowledged by all sovereigns—he has created sovereigns! The actions he has performed are wonders; the monuments he has erected cover the earth; his name fills the world; his institutions, his ideas, have been adopted and imitated, and now shine amongst his enemies: he has only lost his throne; he has preserved all the rest, and still commands the respect of mankind! —The Governor is mistaken, we do not deceive ourselves.

"We also heard that you did not behave with much attention towards us, because, as you said,

we were wanting in marks of respect towards you; and you victoriously used against us the great advantage which you possessed over us in that kind of warfare, though we were entirely ignorant as to what want of respect you could complain of from us towards you, and what particular marks of deference you required.

"Things were in this situation, when a lady of distinction arrived in the island. You received her at Plantation House; and, in order to render yourself agreeable to her, and no doubt to satisfy her curiosity, you wrote to Longwood, to invite *General Bonaparte* to come and meet your guest at dinner! But could you think of such a thing?—Did you really conceive it possible that your invitation could be accepted? And what embarrassment would it not have caused you if it had?—Would you have given to your guest the title of General, which, from circumstances, is become an insult to him? Where would you have placed him? How would you have treated him—as a General of Division, or a Commander-in-Chief?—Sir! each idea, each word, is an insult. And to whom did you offer these insults? To the proudest mind, perhaps, in the universe. I must confess it, when I read that note, I turned pale with surprise and indignation. But the Emperor, calm and unmoved, ordered me to give the note back to the Grand Marshal, who asked what answer he was to return? 'None,' replied the Emperor,

coolly. But, good God! what must have been his feelings at heart! What sensations did we not experience! What would you not have experienced yourself! No doubt, in reading this, you will regret the circumstance, and would not act again in the same manner.

"Almost immediately after this our individual grievances began. A stranger came to see us at Longwood; for we had not then been placed in that state of absolute seclusion which must infallibly hasten death in this horrible abode; he was going to England, and was, he said, to return here five or six months afterwards, and earnestly entreated me to allow him to be of service to me in London. You are aware, Sir, that St. Helena offers no resource whatever; I therefore gave him my watch, to have it mended, being unable to get it done here; and also sent him, by my servant, an old shoe as a pattern. If I am entering here into such ignoble details, Sir, circumstances compel me to do so, and must plead my justification. Some days after, this stranger sent me back these things, accompanied by the politest letter possible, in which he apologized for not taking charge of them, the Governor having forbidden him, he said, to do so, unless the articles passed through his hands, and unless my request were addressed to him directly. Not receiving any answer from me, he repeated this to me several times, by way of instruction how to act, but I took especial care to make no

reply; I would rather have gone without a watch for the rest of my life, and walked barefooted. I had felt the insult that had been offered to me, and I endured it in silence: what better can we do when we feel that we are unable to obtain any satisfaction? Could I, besides, send my old shoe to a General, to a Governor? It would only, it is true, have been following his own instructions to the letter; but did I owe no respect to myself? I therefore concluded that this was an intentional affront offered to me personally. And I ask you, Sir, would you not have thought the same thing? Had it not been so, said I to myself, Sir Hudson Lowe would have done me the honour to call upon me when he came to Longwood; he would have told me that he had learnt accidentally that I had, contrary to the regulations, delivered some articles to a passenger for Europe; that, to oblige me, he had immediately given his permission for their being allowed to go; that he now informed me of the regular way of proceeding, which he should request me to follow in future. Whatever my previous disposition might have been, I should have felt the delicacy of this conduct; it would have won me; it would, at any rate, have embarrassed me considerably; and I do not think that Sir Hudson Lowe would ever had another occasion to complain of me on that subject. But such was not to be the case. However, as I am an enemy to broils and quarrels, and as this was per-

sonal to me, I kept it secret for a long time: it at last became known through an accidental circumstance, which contributed not a little to augment the sum of our sorrows and vexations at Longwood.

"One of us had engaged a servant some days since; you met him at the door of the house, and you arrested him with your own hand, near that threshold which, up to that moment, we had considered sacred. Fortunately, the Emperor was walking at some distance, otherwise the act might have been executed in his presence.

"'He has dishonoured the narrow space in which I move,' said the Emperor, speaking of you, when the fact became known to him. 'Probably our habits and feelings are unknown to him; he does not know that all the gold of America, that heaps of diamonds, cannot atone for such insults!' You have subsequently affirmed that you did not know that the man belonged to one of us. I believe it. But that ignorance; the precipitancy with which you acted; the act itself, which must still remain on record; are they not sufficient evidence of that want of regard on your part which was well calculated, most sensibly, to wound our feelings?

"Countess Bertrand had written a note to some person in town; you seized upon it and returned it to her, accusing her of infringing the rules, and reminding us that, in future, we must abstain from

all written communication with any person whatever in the island, otherwise than through your *medium*, and by sending you our notes open, *as it had always been the practice.* It was in vain that we protested that such had never been the case; that we referred to the testimony of your own people, who bore us out in our assertion; that we added that it was certainly in your power to establish such a regulation, but that you ought not to say that you did not make any alteration in the rules established by your predecessor; you persisted, nevertheless; and the only consolation left us, was to laugh at the ludicrous regulation which allowed us to go and see and converse with those to whom we were not allowed to write. However, we could only see, and only did see, in that act of inconsistency, an evident desire to torment us, and to make us feel, most indelicately, the weight of authority.

"Hitherto admittance to Longwood had been obtained by passes from the Grand Marshal. This was a condescension of pure courtesy: the person who possessed the authority and regulated the police of the island, could, at his will, and without noise, prohibit all access to the Grand Marshal, and thus annul his apparent prerogative. You, Sir, suppressed that prerogative, and continued, however, of your own accord, to grant permissions to come to Longwood; thus reserving to yourself, in a most insulting manner, according to our

notions, the means of shewing your illustrious captive, at your will, as an object of curiosity. You were written to on the subject, that if you did not replace things on the same footing as they were before, the Emperor would take the resolution henceforward to see nobody, and you were requested to spare him the importunity of those persons who should be sent by you alone.

"What was your answer? 'That you were very sorry to hear that General Bonaparte had been importuned by visits; and that you should immediately adopt the most active measures to prevent a recurrence of that inconvenience.' And from that moment, you placed us in a state of almost absolute seclusion. This measure, and especially the irony with which it was accompanied, shocked us extremely; the latter appeared to us barbarous, and filled us with indignation. But this was not all. Some of your agents, or I know not who, whose zeal, no doubt, went beyond your intentions, circulated every where a report that the Emperor would no longer see anybody; and that he complained of having been importuned by several persons. This report became general; in the camp, in town, every where. I have, for my own part, undeceived three or four persons who believed it. And you feel surprised and offended at the mistrust—the doubts, which were entertained concerning you at Longwood! You, Sir, who have repeated to me that you would wish

above all, to judge after having examined both sides, pass for an instant to our side, judge upon these facts, and decide.

" Our horizon then began to assume a much darker aspect. We were daily losing ground; terror surrounded us; people began visibly to shun a spot, upon which a malediction had been cast; and we were rapidly going towards a state of complete seclusion. Your own notes, however, were far from representing things in this light; they appeared to us to be put together with great skill. One in particular struck us most forcibly; my memory does not enable me to recollect it; but it was relative to some ill treatment of the Emperor, and was, however, full of expressions of the most respectful deference. This contrast attracted the notice of him, who is so far from being known; whose expressions may possibly be hasty, but who is ever slow to condemn, and whose judgment is admirable. A long time after *we* had already pronounced our opinions most severely on the subject, *he* was still hesitating. " Man is in-" comprehensible," he had often said; " how dif-" ficult it is to judge him! He may commit " a bad action, and yet not be a bad man." But this time he said, " To act so ill, and to write so " well; to strike with one hand, and with the " other, to justify one's self at the same time, ah! " that argues skill and depth of invention!" And he pronounced these fatal words, " *Sir Hudson*

"*Lowe is a wicked man!*" Had you, Sir, been in the midst of us, and placed in the same situation as we were, you would undoubtedly have thought and said the same thing.

"We are now going to touch on a delicate subject, that of the expenditure. It was one day notified to us, that superior orders enjoined to you to reduce the sum allotted to our expenses, from 20,000 odd, to 8,000 pounds; that if the Emperor would make up the difference between the two sums, things should remain on the same footing as they were; but that in default of that, reductions became indispensable. The Emperor had no money. All communication with Europe is forbidden to him. You proceeded to effect reductions. You yourself considered the sum of 8,000*l.* to be absolutely inadequate; and you took upon yourself, you have told me here, to increase it to 12,000*l.*; and you have appeared surprised that you did not receive any demonstrations of gratitude on that account! Sir, indignation, and indignation carried to the highest pitch, leaves no room for any other feeling! the demonstrations of that indignation, which alone you met with, of which alone you received proofs, were not addressed to you more than to your superiors—than to all nature. And what other sentiment could be experienced by captives who, at that moment, felt the recollection of confidence betrayed, *the terrible hospitality of the Bellerophon!* rise in their hearts

in all its bitterness; who considered themselves brought here by the basest treachery, and perfidiously deprived of their liberty and of their fortunes; who had been loaded with chains, and whose very subsistence was now bargained for with them, as if it had been the result of a favour solicited, or of an asylum demanded! What must have been the feelings of men, with whom objects were attempted to be discussed, which, in the midst of their great misfortunes, they considered as nought; who, if even they had been overloaded with favours, would still have contemplated only what they were deprived of! What could they feel, when they were called on to attend to a calculation concerning the three or four dishes which, it was said, had been allowed to compose the Emperor's table; or a dinner which he had been permitted to give once a week; and other things of this kind? This contrast of the cold calculations of the counting-house, with the tempest of our passions, ought it not to have struck you yourself? To offer the contemplation of such details to him, who, not long since, had governed the world and created kings! . . . To think that he could condescend to look at them, to listen to them! . . . . The pen drops from the hand—the blood boils—one knows not whom to accuse! . . . Oh! noble and generous hearts of Great Britain, English Nation, and you, Prince Regent, who represent it, and are ambitious of glory, it is not you that I accuse!

no doubt, that if those details were well known to you, you yourselves would become most ardent accusers. You would be indignant to see your character thus exposed; to see, that in the midst of interests of that importance, a few pieces of silver should be thought of when honour is in the case! Is that your boasted generosity, your pride, your greatness? Are these your sentiments? Was that your will? And is it thus that your great enemy during twenty years,—that the man, who, in the hour of adversity, esteemed you enough to seek a refuge amongst you, in preference to Sovereigns, one of whom had called himself his friend, and the other had become his father-in-law,—is it thus that he is treated in your name? Was this treatment intended by your Legislature, by whom the question had been agitated, whether Napoleon, on this horrible rock, should be considered as a king or a private captive? Could this treatment be contemplated from the language of your very Ministers, who had said, that, short of liberty, every indulgence should be readily granted, to alleviate the torments of a situation so extraordinary. And yet, such is the ignominious treatment to which he is exposed, for whom, your papers have stated, that palaces and splendid superfluities had been embarked. Cease then to be surprised if this august personage desires to be spared the necessity of entering into such ignoble details, and if he exclaims, pointing to the 53d Regiment,

'Leave me alone; if I am hungry, I will go and take a seat amongst those brave fellows: they will not repulse the oldest soldier in Europe.'

"At the period of my arrival, the Emperor had already said, on the occasion of some difficulties of the same nature, 'If there were no women with me, I would desire only the rations of a soldier.'

"In the mean time, you effected your reductions in the way you thought proper. Some servants that were necessary to us were taken from us; considerable retrenchments were made; so much so, that having really no longer the necessaries of life, we were obliged to procure them ourselves. The Emperor, therefore, ordered his plate to be sold; and this order became an additional source of troubles and vexations. On the one hand, the servants of the Emperor were shedding tears in breaking up what they considered as relics; on the other, difficulties were raised by yourself in the town, and you complained of the liberty that had been taken of sending these objects there without asking your permission.

"Much was said about this time of letters that had arrived to our address, and which, we were told, you had sent back to Europe, without mentioning any thing to us on the subject, because they had not come through the channel of Ministers. You have felt hurt at this reproach; you have said that it was without foundation, as you had never returned any letters; you give me this

assurance on your word, and I now believe you. But at Longwood, we could not help laughing at the means you resorted to, of calling upon us to state what those letters were, and at what time they were sent back; for this could be known only to yourself.

" Certain it is, that you detained one of mine for the space of thirty-five days. It was found one morning upon my scrutoire, thrust in amongst others which had lately arrived. You have told me since I have been here, that it had remained at Plantation House by some mistake, and that you had not given this excuse, for fear it should not be believed.

" I cannot blame you, and should have acted in the same way; but knowing nothing of the matter, what was I to think, what would you have thought of it yourself?

" A circumstance occurred also about this time, which will help at once to explain many things. When the Countess de Montholon was confined, a young English clergyman of great fervour, came to christen her child. We detained him to breakfast at the general table. The conversation having fallen upon religion, his countenance indicated much surprise, when he heard us lamenting the want of a priest. Believing no doubt with the vulgar, the heap of nonsense which is continually told of us, he had expected to find himself in the company of renegadoes. It escaped him to con-

fess, that he had heard and believed a report of a priest having offered himself to us at Madeira, and of our having rejected him, accompanying our refusal with some epithets of coarse ribaldry. He was much astonished to hear, that if such an offer was really made, we had been kept in ignorance of it. Availing myself of this circumstance, I requested the clergyman, when breakfast was over, to come to my apartment, and I naturally took this opportunity of describing to him our situation in a moral point of view. We had, besides ourselves, women and children, who suffered a real privation from the absence of religious exercises. We were most anxious to supply this deficiency, though without noise or ostentation. Now, said I to him, this is an affair precisely within your province; and I confided to him our wishes, and intrusted to his conscience the care of obtaining the Governor's assent to them. No sooner had I uttered the word Governor, than I thought I discovered an expression of embarrassment on his countenance, which indicated the fear of compromising himself, so great was the terror that surrounded us! I heard no more of him. Is it that he durst not fulfil his mission? or that you required in this case, as in every other, that I should myself make the request? If I have not done so, it is because I felt embarrassed at the idea of the ridicule which is ever so readily bestowed on a subject of this nature, and likewise, because I

feared that we might not be allowed to select this physician of the soul, in whom a still greater confidence ought to be reposed, than in a physician for the body; and that a stranger might be forced upon us, who, far from affording us any consolation, would only have suggested to our minds the idea of an additional agent to watch over us, of a spy amongst us.

"The notes on both sides had assumed so warm a tone, that you thought proper to put a stop to them, in order to avoid what you called insults, and what we called truths, and which might really be both the one and the other. You told us that you broke off the correspondence; this was sufficient for us, we ceased to write. It is true, that at a later period, you pretended that we had misinterpreted your intentions; but this was a quibble upon words. You imposed conditions, which made it impracticable to correspond; you required, for instance, that henceforth, in order that any complaint might be forwarded by you to your Government, it should bear the Emperor's own signature. But how could you expect this? to whom upon earth could the Emperor prefer a complaint? Where is there a tribunal for him, unless it be that of nations? to them only, and to God, can the Emperor complain. Was it his complaints that were dreaded, when he was not allowed to write to the Prince Regent, unless his letters were previously read? Delicacy no doubt

seems to forbid this suspicion; and yet, what could be the motives for a measure equally insulting to the dignity of both these exalted personages? What intentions could he be supposed to have had? I will tell you those he really had; he was desirous, by the aid of so sacred a cover, to obtain in the only suitable way still left to him, news from his wife and child; and means were found of persecuting him in that course, which had appeared most natural and most delicate to a husband and a father.

"The interruption to all correspondence, had been preceded by that of all verbal communications. After two or three audiences, the Emperor had determined not to see you any more. We had thenceforth no means of meeting each other; and we hoped not to see you again; but you did not desist from making your appearance as usual. We all fled at your approach; every one sought his hiding place, whilst you exultingly continued your rounds about the prison of your victims.

"Under these circumstances, and at this time, a ship arrived from Europe. You receive the despatches, and come in state to Longwood, surrounded by a numerous staff, demanding to make fresh and private communications to the Emperor. From the display thus made, and the expressions used, we each of us felt persuaded, that they must be of a most agreeable nature. The Emperor,

whether he thought otherwise, or whether in his opinion the quality of the mediator was not in any way affected by the nature of the communications, refused to receive you. He consented, a few days afterwards, to see one of your officers upon this subject. But what had he to communicate to him? the most disagreeable things, and couched in the most offensive language! And that, we all exclaimed, was what you had reserved for the Emperor in person! And what else could we say, feel, or think? What other feeling could you have entertained in our place? Those despatches contained, amongst other things, an order to make us repeat our declarations, and sign without reserve the form that would be presented to us. At the time of the first declarations, they had thought to gain something by impressing us with the fear of remaining here for ever. This time they knew us better; and were much more certain to secure us by threatening, to make us instantly quit the island. With this alternative, accordingly, a form was produced to us, which was exceedingly revolting to us in its expressions. In vain did we attempt to resist; the *sine qua non* vibrated incessantly in our hearts. In case of refusal, we were to be sent direct to the Cape, we were to abandon to himself the dear and sacred object of our hopes and of our cares, and see him go down alive into the grave. We signed without his knowledge, aware that he would feel hurt were he to know

it. He was irritated by so many vexations. We signed in the silence of night, whilst he was reposing; and we congratulated ourselves that we had gained this triumph over his personal intentions; it was the triumph of tender children, who deceive their father in order to serve him.

" Our fresh declarations, were followed by fresh restrictions, by which you contracted the limits of our first boundary considerably; you also struck out of those limits, the space formerly allotted for the Emperor's ride; and gave as a motive, that he had discontinued using it; adding, with much formality, that if he should ever feel a desire to renew that exercise, on his expressing the wish, the posts would be re-established for the time of his ride. We immediately exclaimed, This again is striking with one hand, and justifying one's self with the other; wantonly to ill treat us here, and artfully to manage to appear in a fair light, at a distance, in the eyes of Ministers and of the public; for it was impracticable to replace the posts for a ride that was only taken at the caprice of the moment; and you knew us too well to fear that such a thing would ever be asked of you. The remainder of the restrictions contained some points more or less disagreeable, applying to each of us individually, of which we took or laid aside what we thought proper. But what would hardly be credited, and what few will believe, is that you should have stated in them, that if the Emperor

happened to meet any one in his rides, he was not to speak to him beyond what common politeness required. What restrictions! What forms! To whom did you address them? . . . What were our feelings? Those of indignation had been long since exhausted, and we had nothing left for fresh insults, except a sort of senseless wondering. But if these restrictions should ever reach Europe, should they become public (and we have been assured that you have kept them here in a sort of mystery), should they be made known to the nations, and reach the ears of the sovereigns with whom you have been acquainted, what, think you, would be their feelings? Be this as it may, we have concealed them within our breasts, and have taken good care that they should not come to the knowledge of the august personage for whom they were intended, and who is probably still ignorant of them. In the mean time, the number of sentries was increased; the hours at which they encircled us were advanced; ditches were dug, and palisadoes placed all around the establishment; and the Emperor's stables, which are at a short distance, were turned into two complete redoubts, which the Chinese and the soldiers who raised them, jocularly christened *Fort Hudson* and *Fort Lowe*. What has been the result of all this? That the Emperor, to whom exercise on horseback had been rendered irksome, who had limited himself to a few walks round the garden and in

the wood, meeting at every turn some object calculated to shock him, has now confined himself to his apartment, where you will, undoubtedly, soon occasion his death. Medical men think that the absolute want of exercise is rapidly hastening his dissolution; they must have told you so; and this certainly is his own opinion. You reply that it is the Emperor's own free will, and that you consider yourself absolved from the consequences of the event; but does it not follow that you must have rendered life wholly insupportable to him, if you thus confess that he calls and wishes for death? What a dreadful responsibility! . . . . If I were to dwell upon this subject, Sir, I might, perhaps, succeed in convincing you that the dread of the last moments of this great man ought to inspire you with the tenderest cares and the most anxious uneasiness, at least during the time of your own administration.

"Having briefly detailed the principal circumstances which I have witnessed at Longwood, allow me, Sir, to ask you, in my turn, what can have been the causes and the motives of these severe and rapid aggravations, of a situation daily and so cruelly rendered worse? The dignified and important part of your mission, that of watching over the abode of the Emperor Napoleon, in the Island of St. Helena, is it not the same as when he arrived in this island, as when you yourself arrived? Whence proceed such severe, such harsh

and barbarous changes? Has the danger increased? Have the chances augmented? Have you discovered any plots? Had any correspondence been established? Have you got any clue? Can you point out any facts, or justify any suspicions? Certainly not;—and if you have no other object in view but to combat every chance possible and that can be foreseen, where will you stop? for death alone can embrace them all. But it is a positive fact, and you will surely not deny it, that the first, the only act that has occurred since your arrival in the island, is that for which I find myself here at this moment in your hands. You may have thought, at first, that you were about to make some great discovery. You have witnessed with what ease, with what calmness I have anticipated your own ideas; I have most readily consented to lay open before you, unreservedly, my most secret papers, those that contained, day after day, all my thoughts and actions. They have afforded you an opportunity of satisfying yourself of the truth of the above assertion, that the present is the first, the only affair of this kind; and you are also now satisfied that this circumstance is nothing, less than nothing. It is therefore true, or at least we could not but think so, and every impartial man will join us in believing, that all your measures have been directed by bitterness, irritation, and personal feelings, much more than by the calls of public duty. No person is less

disposed than I am to prejudge evil; but I know that men, in their decisions, are too often influenced by secret impulses, which elude their own observation, and lie concealed in the folds of their hearts: descend into your own, search and analyze it, the result will perhaps astonish you. You are constantly saying that, in our relations with others, we never see but the wrong side of things; and you assure us that your intercourse is more impartial, more candid, and more just. Rarely, Sir, is a man a judge in his own cause; this impartiality, this correctness, Sir, is precisely what we are most in doubt of. You have, in this respect, a great advantage over us; it is upon our documents that you make your observations and found your replies; but we . . . . Where are your documents? What would not be the embarrassment of those who would have to decide between us, when *we* thus appear in open day, whilst *you* are enveloped in mystery? What means have we of defending ourselves against your errors? This reflection cannot fail to strike your Ministers, some day or other, if they wish to be just. The little we know of your ideas is often captious and deceitful.—Your assertions are quite correct in principle, though perfectly inadmissible and null in their application. Thus, for instance, you told me here that, saving only the security of the Emperor's person, and all communication with him unauthorized by you, you were ready to adopt whatever

measures might tend to better our condition. Nothing can be more reasonable, I exclaimed! but we had no sooner entered into details, than you shewed a disposition to go still further than you had already ventured, &c. &c.

" Let us now come to what is personal to myself. Your attention was chiefly directed to me, and I was the particular object of your ill will. I deserved it; for though, perhaps, the most quiet of all by character, I have shewn myself the most irritable on occasion; I have been the most ardent; I was proud, and sensible of my situation; I dared to express it openly. All that I have done and written is to be ascribed to this feeling, and nothing to malevolence, which is foreign to my nature. It was thus I described and expressed, in my letters, whatever I saw and whatever I felt, and with the less hesitation as to what concerned you, Sir, as I was to send it to yourself. If I had written mysteriously, perhaps I might have been more guarded. These letters displeased and irritated you, and you at last forbade me to write, and threatened to remove me from the Emperor if I continued.

" When you found that I had written to Europe for certain articles which I wanted for myself, you came to tell me that some had been already sent from England, which I might use. I had formed a determination, that you never should find me personally on the bill of your expenses or as a party to

any request. I refused; giving as a reason that it was foreign from my habits to accept any thing, so long as I was not entirely destitute of resources. I wished to preserve my feelings quite free, and unfettered by gratitude. You sent me word, some days afterwards, that you would complain to your Ministers of my having refused, *with contempt*, what they offered to me.

"You found fault with my conversations with those who made their appearance amongst us; I destroyed in their minds the absurd calumnies, the ridiculous stories, that had been invented respecting the greatest of characters; I made known to them certain *traits*, with which they were much struck, and of which they had, until then, been perfectly ignorant. You reproached me with zealously propagating what concerned us, in order that it might reach Europe; I compared myself to a man who, whilst he is murdered in a lonely field, destitute of assistance, calls upon the passing birds to witness. Was it offending your country, or violating its laws, to put them in possession of the truth? on the contrary, I was serving England, and entitling myself to its gratitude. Your efforts against us, in this respect, your excessive and severe precautions against your own countrymen, could not, we thought, but encourage and justify our firm conviction, that, trusting in your distant situation for obtaining the sanction of your Government to your

arbitrary acts, you had no longer any other fear than that they should be known to the public. Why, else, keep us in strict seclusion? Why throw obstacles in the way of our being visited or seen by your countrymen, or of our conversing with them, if there was nothing to conceal from their knowledge? Was it the fear of our making false representations to them? But you should, on the contrary, have allowed them to see every thing; and, if appearances were not borne out by the facts, they would then have left us, and pitied us for thus exaggerating our misfortunes.

"When the question arose about removing some one from the Emperor's person, you declared that your choice should fall upon me, if you did not think me useful to him; in short, your insinuations against me, and your warnings to me, were repeated on every occasion. They were, I confess, a matter of indifference to me: when a martyr has reached a certain point, he no longer calculates his tortures, or rather, perhaps, he is pleased with them. I had long since reached that point; in a physical, as well as a moral sense, the measure was filled; I was, literally speaking, hardly sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather; in my apartment, if it rained, I was drenched; if the sun shone, I was suffocated. My son and myself had no other bed-room than a space sufficient for two very small beds; Newgate had been a better place! . . . . But for the sacred cause that gave

vigour to my mind, my body would certainly have yielded long ago. You could not, you ought not, to have been ignorant of this. If I have persisted in never preferring a complaint to you upon this subject, I did what became me ; it was your business to remedy the evil. He is bound to watch over me, said I, for good as well as for evil. The truth is, that we appear to have been considered as objects of reprobation, for whom any thing is too good. And yet God forbid I should dare to allude here to an august personage, so wonderfully restored to his throne by the spontaneous movement of a whole nation, and only torn from it again by the blind efforts of other nations, and the ostracism of kings fearful for their own existence ; it is of those only who surround him that I mean to speak. What could I be reproached with, who, the victim of two mighty revolutions, and always in opposition to my interests, have lost my patrimony in defence of a monarch hurled from his throne, and have sacrificed my family, my fortune, my very liberty, to devote my cares to a monarch who had been elevated to one ?— And that venerable Grand Marshal, the model of devotedness and every virtue, what could he be reproached with ? and so on for all the others. No, said I to myself, with pride, we are neither culprits, nor even men of an ordinary description ; we profess the most sublime, the most noble, the most rare of virtues ; we give a noble

example to the world; our memories will be for ever engraved in all generous hearts; we are here upholding the honour of those by whom kings are surrounded. After the example which we have set, it will no longer be said that unfortunate monarchs find neither devotedness, fidelity, nor love; or it must be admitted, at least, that Napoleon had created those feelings.

"I had for a servant an inhabitant of the island; he became an object of suspicion to you; you determined upon taking him away from me: nothing could be more natural; but you desired to replace him by one of your own choice, and this I resisted: I replied to your officer, that you might garrison my apartment by force, but never with my consent; that if I could not have a servant of my choice, I would attend upon myself. You persisted, and I was under the necessity of remaining without a servant. And yet how easy it was for you to satisfy me, since you could have controlled my choice by your refusal! This servant which you had taken away from me, came back shortly afterwards to tell me that he intended to return to England, and that he would take my commands for that country. I gave him two letters; you have now ascertained of how little consequence they were. The one was a narrative to Prince Lucien, which had been intended for yourself; the other nothing more than a friendly communication. It was immaterial; your restrictions had been infringed,

and here I am in prison. I have considered it beneath me to discuss how far your authority over my person did extend: if it had been exceeded, the laws would afford me redress: I do not bargain when suffering is in question; I take what I find, and punish myself tenfold the next day; I have, in consequence, imposed upon myself the greatest, the most painful of sacrifices. "I have "been contaminated," did I write to you; "I can "no longer be an object of consolation for the "Emperor. I could only be henceforth in his sight a "person dishonoured, who would bring injurious "recollections to his mind; I banish myself from "Longwood; I shall go far away to solicit to see "him again, and shall return, I hope, by a distant "and unsullied road. I withdraw from the vo- "luntary subjection in which I had submitted "to place myself towards you. I replace myself "under the protection of the laws, and demand "of you my liberty."

"And if I have disdained to dwell upon your conduct towards me, in tearing me away from Longwood, I was not insensible to the injustice of which you had been guilty in thus violating that sanctuary of misfortune. It would have been so easy for you to have ordered me down to the seat of your government. I was at your command: you would have obtained the same result, and would have avoided inflicting the deep wound you will have occasioned.

"I am free to confess that, since I am under your immediate control, I have found myself surrounded by very unexpected attentions; I have witnessed daily some agreeable alterations which I should not have suspected. I was forcibly struck by this enigma; might it not proceed, said I, from the facility of my disposition? Could I have been mistaken at Longwood? Can I be mistaken here? Surely not. You did not appear to me the same man. I no longer saw you, as I have already said, *through the blood-stained veil.* At last, I have resolved the problem: here I find myself on a level with you; every thing has harmonized between us; whereas, you have never been in harmony for a single moment with that gigantic scale of Longwood, the magnitude of which you either will not perceive, or obstinately endeavour to diminish, rather than raise yourself to its proportions. The circle you have drawn is much too narrow to enclose the objects it is intended to contain; they overflow in every direction, and you mutilate them in every possible manner to force them into it, and are irritated at not succeeding. You recal to mind the man recorded in fabulous history, who stretched upon his bed all travellers that fell into his hands, and amputated those parts of their bodies which exceeded its narrow dimensions. You have spoken about an error in our respective positions: that is the error, Sir, the true error; I have discovered it, and since then I can explain every thing that has happened.

Endeavour to reflect upon the subject yourself, and see what you will think about it.

"It is in vain that you would refer to the letter of your instructions, there can be no literal instructions for a mission of so much importance, and so extraordinary as yours; they would place you beneath it. That mission, Sir, is great; and you cannot do too much to elevate its character. Of what glory you are wilfully depriving yourself! After my situation at Longwood, the first object of my ambition in the pursuit of glory, would have been to occupy the post of Governor of this Island. I should have felt the importance and extent of the duty imposed upon me, and I should have fulfilled it. I should have answered for the safety of my captive, but having secured that point, I should not have left him a wish to gratify: it would not been enough for me to possess his esteem, I should have obliged him to love me. I should not have approached his chains but on my knees. And I am not to be told that my instructions, or severe orders, would oblige me to do the contrary in spite of myself; for the rich salary attached to the situation of Governor of St. Helena, the honours with which I might expect to be rewarded, the high confidence reposed in me, of which it would be a proof; all that would be as nothing to me when compared with my independence of mind, and with the approbation of public opinion. Others might be found to succeed me.

"And to what dangers may you not expose

yourself? You know better than I do the history of your own country. You know how many generals, how many leaders, after having performed services of great difficulty and importance, have fallen a sacrifice to a change of administration, or the caprice of public opinion. If some misfortune of the same kind were to befal you, Sir, how many voices would, perhaps, be raised against you from this island? Beware! lest you be working to effect your own ruin. You will reply, that you are satisfied with the testimony of your own conscience; and, undoubtedly, that testimony is the most satifactory, most consolatory, most important; but it is only effectual before God: in the eyes of men, it is too often insufficient and of no avail. How many men of unblemished conscience have fallen a prey to the attacks of injustice and public opinion! How many have remained branded by unrefuted calumny! Your Judge Jeffries, of odious memory, was, perhaps, after all, a worthy man, who only executed barbarous regulations to the letter; the character of the times in which he lived, unfortunate circumstances, calumny, exaggeration, party spirit, may have done the rest; and thus can an undeserved reputation be handed down to history! What an inheritance to leave after one! Who would willingly expose himself to such a chance? And, with respect to yourself, Sir, in case of a fatal struggle, who could be found here to range them-

selves on your side? Two great parties now divide the world: you were born at the source of liberal ideas, and I will not do you the injustice to think that they do not still form the foundation of your opinions; but, by a strange anomaly, you are at this moment the direct agent, as it were, of the old aristocracy. If, therefore, you were ever obliged to appeal to public opinion respecting acts of the nature of those now alluded to, be certain that you would have all those of your own political creed in every nation against you. And do not flatter yourself that you would, at least, have all those of the opposite party on your side; I belonged to it for some time, I know its good and bad qualities; and nobody can deny that, notwithstanding its political heresies, it possesses, in a high degree, elevation of mind and generosity of sentiment. It would desert you.

"I have now told you candidly all the grievances, all the motives of animosity which have recurred to my mind. I have spoken to you with the utmost freedom, but with the best intentions; not with the acrimonious feeling of resentment which endeavours to wound, but with a sincere desire to impart information. I now again repeat, that if I have been mistaken in any of my assertions, it is for want of access to the official document; and that if I have not stated the truth on other points, I have erred unintentionally, and have really believed or felt all that I have written.

"I sincerely hope that you will read this statement in the same disposition of mind in which it was penned; and I have pleasure in assuring you once more that I have been actuated much less by a desire of addressing you in a tone of reproach, than by a wish to enable you to reflect, and reply —perhaps to atone; were it even at my own expense. May its perusal be productive of useful information, and tend to improve matters for the future! And this, Sir, is perhaps the moment to inform you of the state in which I left Longwood. No language is sufficient to describe it adequately: existence had become intolerable. Deprived of all communication, in a state of absolute seclusion, our hours seemed of lead; even the air which we breathed appeared like an insipid poison; the feeling of utter disgust for life had reached its height, the weight of it was beyond our strength; and to crown our misfortunes we saw him for whom alone we lived, hourly wearing away, and by a tacit smile informing us every day more and more significantly, that ere long he would deliver us from our chains . . . My tears flow! . . . Such was the wretchedness of our situation in that abode, that if it were possible for us to suspend for an instant the sacred duty which occupies and governs our minds, if it were possible, in a word, that a moment of absence of mind should occur, which would restore each to the contemplation of self, I should not be suprised if my unfortunate companions,

were to use it, like some of the ancients, to kill each other mutually, in order to free themselves from the miseries of existence; and if you were to be informed some day that Longwood is nothing but a sepulchre, and that a few dead bodies are all that remains in your custody.

"Such a state of things, such sufferings, are they in harmony with the principles and the wishes of your Prince, of your Ministers, your legislature, your nation, of your own heart? What a fatility! . . . Whence then proceeds all the misery which you produce?

"Be that as it may, Sir, far or near, one feeling alone must occupy my heart and silence every other: watch over the Emperor's health, preserve his life, and I will bless you."

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"*From my close confinement at Balcombe's Cottage, in sight of Longwood, December* 19, 1816."

I heard no more of this statement until six years after, and then only through the medium of Dr. O'Meara's work. The gentlemen of the Emperor's suite, on their return from St. Helena, informed me that it had never been communicated to them, and that the Emperor was wholly ignorant of its contents. It appears, that after my departure, Sir Hudson Lowe, by the influence of his authority, and contrary to our express conditions, had taken the manuscript exclusively into

his own possession, and had made it the subject of false interpretations or wicked inventions.

Mr. O'Meara, in his account of the occurrences which took place at St. Helena, observes, that Sir H. Lowe, availing himself of the information acquired by the perusal of the manuscript (the grievances), had recourse to an artifice well worthy of the system which he set on foot. He directed Mr. O'Meara to inform Napoleon, that during my confinement, I had confessed that the restrictions imposed on the French at Longwood were merely matters of form; and that I, as well as the rest of the French, had endeavoured to poison the mind of our Master, by means of calumny and falsehood; adding that this fact was unquestionable, since he had it stated in my own hand-writing. He even pretended to quote a sentence of this manuscript, which he requested Mr. O'Meara to repeat to the Emperor, and by which he wished to make it appear that I had confessed that the French about the person of the Emperor, had made him view every thing through *a veil dyed in blood.* On hearing this, the Emperor observed: *Certainly, wherever one sees an executioner, one sees blood.* And he added, that he was convinced this was an invention of Sir Hudson Lowe, or a misrepresentation of some passage in my statement. On this occasion, Mr. O'Meara describes the Emperor to have said: "Las Cases certainly was greatly irri-" tated against him (Sir H. Lowe), and contributed

"materially towards forming the impression ex-
"isting upon my mind, because Las Cases is a
"man of a feeling mind, and extremely sensible
"to the ill treatment which has been put in prac-
"tice towards me and himself. But I had no
"occasion for the assistance of Las Cases towards
"giving me that opinion, as the treatment I expe-
"rienced was fully sufficient in itself to create it."

He observed that I had constantly spoken to him of the English nation, in terms of enthusiasm and admiration; though I certainly had expressed myself candidly and energetically respecting the treatment which the French had experienced at St. Helena, which I considered to be entirely contrary to the generosity and liberal sentiments of the English people.

In Mr. O'Meara's work, entitled *Napoleon in Exile*, I find it mentioned, under date of Dec. 4, 1816, that Sir Hudson Lowe said "I had much al-
"tered my opinion concerning him since the in-
"tercourse we had had together;" and he added "that the French who were with General Bona-
"parte only wanted to make an instrument of
"him, to aggrandize themselves, without caring
"by what means they effected it," &c. Sir H. Lowe wished that Mr. O'Meara should signify this to the Emperor.

Under date of the 12th of Dec. Sir Hudson Lowe is described as having said that "Count Las Cases
"had not followed General Bonaparte out of affec-

" tion;" and that " General Bonaparte did not " know what Las Cases had written, or the ex- " pressions which had dropped from him."

Again, under date of Jan. 14, 1817, Mr. O'Meara says: " His Excellency began to inveigh against " Count Las Cases, whom he accused of having " been the cause of much mischief between Bona- " parte and himself. He said, the Count had as- " serted in his Journal, that Bonaparte had de- " clared he abhorred the sight of the British uni- " form, or of a British officer; that he held both " in abomination, and that I had better take an " opportunity to tell him this, and add, that I had " heard him (the Governor) say, that he did not " believe he had ever said so."

Finally, on another occasion, the Governor charged Mr. O'Meara to repeat, at Longwood, that he had written to the English Ministers respecting me in such a way as would for ever prevent my return to France. What he could have written, Heaven knows! However, the result proved that either the English Ministers were not much influenced by his benevolent intentions, or that the French Ministers paid little regard to the representations that were made to them. It will hereafter be seen that, on my return to Europe, when I was prevented from residing in England, and it was left at my own option to proceed either to Calais or Ostend, I made choice of the latter place, for reasons totally foreign from the alarm

which Sir Hudson Lowe pretended he had created. But, it would appear, he himself doubted the efficacy of his denunciation, or he had recourse to twofold precautions, for he employed all his art and address to procure my detention as a prisoner at the Cape of Good Hope. I have been informed that, when speaking to his man of all work respecting me, he said—" As for him, he will trouble " us no longer. We have given him good recom- " mendations to the Cape : he will *rot* in a dungeon " there." This same man, with the gentle smile and honied voice which rarely forsook him, wished, as Mr. O'Meara declares, that Napoleon should be put in irons if he proved troublesome; and, on another occasion, he is stated to have said, " That " the Allies lost sight of the grand object, in not " strangling young Napoleon!"

But to return to my former subject. How was I to reconcile the Governor's politeness, his protestations of kindness and good intention when he was near me, with his false reports, the invented language which he attributed to me, and the wicked suggestions which he transmitted to Longwood, when I was no longer there? Let candid and honest hearts decide this.

The Cape of Good Hope is 500 leagues from St. Helena; but, even with the most favourable winds, the passage must be lengthened to at east 700, by the circuitous course which it is necessary to take on account of the trade winds.

A vessel, on leaving St. Helena, first stands well out to the south-west, in order to get as speedily as possible beyond the trade winds. As soon as the variable winds are attained, the ship steers towards the east, but descending considerably to the south, several degrees of latitude below the Cape, in order to guard against the south-easterly winds, which blow with great violence at this season of the year.

We had a very good voyage, and fell in with the winds just as we wished. Our passage was short and pleasant, though my son and I occasionally suffered severely from sea-sickness. On the 6th or 7th we got out of the trade winds, and fell in with the west wind, which brought us to our place of destination in nine or ten days. It was not until we were approaching the famous Cape of storms that we encountered a violent adverse wind, blowing from the south-east, accompanied by a very rough sea. But this circumstance was adverse only with respect to the instructions of our Captain; to me, personally, it was extremely fortunate. Sir Hudson Lowe had directed the Captain to land me beyond the Cape, at Simon's Bay, which is situated behind it. Probably he supposed that, by not entering the town, I should attract the less attention, and that the injustice of my captivity would be the less flagrant. Be this as it may, we were threatened with a storm, and the Captain took upon himself the responsibility of sailing for

Cape Town, which was nearer at hand. We arrived off the coast at two in the morning, precisely at the hour which the Captain had foretold, without sounding or any other preliminary measure. Captain Wright is an excellent navigator; he possesses activity, zeal, regularity, and decision; and will, I doubt not, one day rise to eminence. I have observed that this nautical precision is now nearly general among the English. I know not what has been done in our navy, which was so long celebrated for scientific superiority; but I can affirm, from experience, that the English have attained great perfection. Their calculations are so correct, and their nautical instruments so perfect, that it is difficult to conceive that science is susceptible of further improvement.

We cast anchor at two o'clock in the afternoon on the 17th, after a passage of eighteen days. The Captain politely apologized for the necessity of detaining me on board, until he should go and receive the Governor's orders: such were his instructions. He returned, informing me that I could not land until the 19th, as the residence which was intended for me, could not be prepared before that time. This was rather a disappointment to me; for after a sea voyage one is naturally so eager to set foot on land.

Thus I had to remain two days in the harbour of the Cape, which is extremely beautiful. The weather was delightful; excessively hot, it is true,

but the air was at the same time pure and refreshing.

In my youth, when I first entered the navy, I had frequently heard the officers, who had served in India, describe all the different points, which were at this moment before my eyes. I felt a pleasure in reviving these old recollections; and all the places I mentioned, were immediately pointed out to me by the persons on board the ship.

Cape Town is a tolerably extensive place, and is built in a style of beauty and regularity. It is situated on flat ground, very little above the level of the sea, and is almost closely surrounded by huge precipitous mountains. On my left was the Devil's Mountain; before me rose the Table Mountain; and on my right were the Sugarloaf, and the Lion's Rump, so called from their exact resemblance to the objects after which they are named. The fortifications in front and on each side of the town, appeared to me to be in a very bad state, and particularly ill situated, being commanded by several points, and especially by the Lion's Rump, which is itself easily accessible. I was not at all surprised that the garrison should have yielded to every attack of forces, however little superior to its own. The most effectual plan, until this defect be remedied, would be to land at a distance from the garrison, to the north, on an open part of the sea-beach, entirely defenceless,

and from thence, to march to attack the town by land. I recollected having heard it said, that the clouds sometimes suddenly cover the Table and Devil's Mountain, even when the rest of the sky appears perfectly serene. I had myself an opportunity of observing this curious phenomenon, during the short time I remained in the harbour. On these occasions, the mountains appear to be covered with snow, of the most dazzling whiteness, and this is vulgarly called *spreading the table-cloth*, which expression certainly conveys a very accurate idea of the spectacle presented. In winter, this peculiar appearance of the clouds, is almost always the precursor of a storm. The harbour is entirely exposed to the north-west winds, which are frequent and violent in the bad season of the year. The shipping is then liable to great danger; the only shelter is under Robbin Island, at some distance from the entrance of the bay.

I mentioned to the individuals on board the ship, an anecdote which I had often heard our naval officers relate. Suffren, on returning from the campaign of India, at the time of the peace, cast anchor at the Cape, some days before the English squadron, by which he was closely followed. The latter, on entering the harbour, had to tack, in order to gain the anchorage. On observing one of the ships as she entered, the French Admiral, at the very first glance, foretold that she would infallibly be lost, and he immediately or-

dered a signal to be given for all the boats belonging to his squadron to be in readiness to render assistance. In a few moments, the English ship ran aground; boats were sent off from all points; but the French had the glory of being the first to arrive. It was described as being a singular and affecting spectacle to see the two squadrons, which had lately been so desperately intent on mutual destruction, now vieing with each other in the benevolent task of succouring the distressed. The young English officers, to whom I related this circumstance, informed me that they had never before heard of it; so true it is that facts, which powerfully occupy the attention of contemporaries, are lost to the succeeding generation, when they are not of a nature to acquire historical importance.

MY RESIDENCE AT THE CAPE.

An Interval of upwards of Seven Months.

My Confinement at the Old Castle, &c.

From the 19th to the 28th of January.—When the Captain returned from his visit to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, his countenance sufficiently informed me, that he had nothing agree-

able to communicate. He was no longer the same man; his behaviour was cold and embarrassed, and his reserve was soon imitated by all the other persons on board. Several naval officers belonging to to different ships in the harbour came to visit their friends on board the Griffin. I could easily perceive that they felt a certain degree of curiosity to see me, though they avoided as much as possible entering into conversation with me. They spoke to each other aside; and, by their looks, seemed to consider me as an outlaw. From these circumstances, and certain expressions that escaped from the persons about me, I could perceive that, in spite of the distance, the security of the great captive was the subject of as much alarm and distrust here, as at St. Helena; and I had every reason to expect that the dark cloud which enveloped Longwood, would be extended over me at the Cape. Accordingly, as soon as I was put on shore at noon, I was met by the officer appointed to guard me. Captain Wright, who took me ashore in his boat, for the sake of old acquaintance, and I hope also from sincere sympathy, declined leaving me until I should be safely lodged in the abode that was destined for me. We therefore walked together to what is called the old castle or fort. After crossing several drawbridges, and passing many sentinels, we arrived in the inner court yard or parade, and from thence by various staircases and galleries, we reached the lodging assigned to us. The doors were locked. It was necessary to search

for the keys; and in the meanwhile, we were requested to wait in a room, which was occupied by several officers of the garrison. By chance, an officer of the staff entered. He seemed to be greatly surprised to find we were thus left in free communication with the persons about us; and assuming a polite pretence, he conducted us to his own apartment to partake of some refreshment. After a few hours had elapsed, a messenger was sent to inform us, that our apartments were ready. They consisted of three rooms, which we were enabled to discover in proportion as the cloud of dust with which they were filled gradually dispersed; for they had but that moment been swept. The first room was entirely empty; the middle one contained a large table, an arm-chair, with broken feet, and four other wretched chairs; the third contained two bedsteads, two bolsters, one mattress and three coverlets: this was the whole of the valuable furniture. It was well that we had taken the precaution of bringing our beds with us from St. Helena. I was at a loss to comprehend how two days could have been occupied in such preparations. This circumstance did not afford me a very high notion of the regularity, precision, or promptitude of the new authority under which I was now placed.

The officer who had charge of us, installed himself in the first room. A sentinel was immediately stationed on the outside, and I was informed that I must not communicate with any

one. I now found myself literally a prisoner. I had complained of Balcombe's cottage; but here I was infinitely worse off. This, thought I, is the first effect of Sir Hudson Lowe's kind recommendations.

Dinner was served. It was ordered by our officer, and was abundant. The staff-officer, who had used the precautionary politeness of conducting us to his apartment in the morning, thinking himself already on a footing of intimacy, or perhaps, being specially charged to watch over us, came familiarly to invite me to dinner. He and his comrade appeared to exert themselves to do the honours of the table in the most agreeable way. They seemed anxious to shew me every attention; but I did not feel myself at ease, and alleging as an excuse the fatigue I had encountered during the day, I withdrew, leaving them *tête à tête* over the bottle; and they sat until late in the night, according to established custom.

On the following day, I received a visit from one of the captains of our station at St. Helena. Knowing the state of my son's health, he brought a medical gentleman along with him. This was a mark of attention on his part, but the introduction occasioned, for some moments, a curious misunderstanding. I mistook the Captain's medical friend for his son or nephew. The grave Doctor, who was presented to me, was a boy of eighteen, with the form, the manners, and the voice of a woman. But Mr. Barry (such was his name) was

described to be an absolute phenomenon. I was informed that he had obtained his diploma at the age of thirteen, after the most rigid examination; that he had performed extraordinary cures at the Cape, and had saved the life of one of the Governor's daughters, after she had been given up, which rendered him a sort of favourite in the family. I profited by this latter circumstance, to obtain some information which might serve as a guide for my conduct with respect to the new Governor, to whom I that day addressed a letter, explaining my situation, and formally requesting to be sent to England, and restored to full and complete liberty. My letter was as follows:—

"My Lord,—Having been for several days under your authority, I take the liberty of addressing myself to your Excellency, in order to ascertain what are your intentions respecting me. Owing to a circumstance, of a nature wholly personal to myself, I was removed from Longwood, at St. Helena, on the 25th of November last, by Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor of that island.

"A few days afterwards, in consequence of several conversations with the Governor, though without his coming to any decision on my case, I wrote to inform him, that from that moment I should withdraw from my voluntary subjection to him, and place myself entirely under the jurisdiction of the laws. I demanded that he would enforce the laws with respect to me; observing,

that if guilty, I ought to be tried, and if not guilty, I ought to be restored to freedom. I added, that the critical state of my son's health, and also my own, imperiously demanded medical remedies of every kind, and I entreated that he would send us to England. Sir Hudson Lowe then seemed to hesitate. I have reason to believe, that at first, he entertained some idea of sending me to Europe. But he next determined to detain me at St. Helena, separated from Longwood, until the return of answers from England. He then several times offered to allow me to return to Longwood; and finally, he sent me to the Cape, under your Excellency's orders, thus, as it appears to me, seizing the literal interpretation of his instructions, in order to put an end to his embarrassments, and perhaps to await the same results respecting me; but without himself risking any personal responsibility. Such, my Lord, is the brief statement of facts which I conceive it necessary to submit to you, in order that you may form a correct idea of my real situation. I hope you will consider as perfectly natural, inoffensive and regular, the request which I have now the honour to address to you, and which is, that I may be sent to England as speedily as possible, and be restored to full and complete liberty, as far as my natural rights may claim consistently with your political duties.

"I have the honour," &c.

"P. S.—I beg that your Excellency will be pleased to inform me whether I may be allowed to write to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his Ministers. If that permission be granted, I shall do myself the honour of addressing to your Excellency, two letters, with the request that you will forward them to England without delay. I shall also be obliged, if you will let me know when there is an opportunity of communicating with St. Helena, as I have to address some papers to Sir Hudson Lowe."

Two days afterwards, I received the Governor's answer. It was very brief. Without entering into any particulars, he merely declared that he considered me as a prisoner *on the report of Sir Hudson Lowe*, and condemned me to remain at the Cape, until instructions arrived from England. I could make no resistance; I was compelled to submit. This I intimated to Lord Charles Somerset, in a second letter, in which I enclosed two others; the first addressed to Lord Castlereagh, requesting his Lordship to lay the second before the Prince Regent. My letter to Lord Charles Somerset, was as follows:—

"My Lord,—I have received the answer which your Excellency addressed to me, and from which I learn that I am to be detained a prisoner here, until Sir Hudson Lowe shall receive answers from England respecting me. Doubtless, your Excellency has, in your wisdom, accurately weighed the

force of the reasons which induce you to adopt a measure of so serious a nature, as that of depriving me of my liberty, without any previous judicial forms, and even without my being made acquainted with the cause of my detention. All I can do is to submit to authority, and to rely on those laws, which will protect me if I be entitled to protection.

"I shall not undertake any ulterior argument for my defence, being persuaded that you, my Lord, in the justice of your heart, when you determined on adopting so delicate a course, must have attentively considered the whole of my cause. However, I perceive from your answer, that your decision rests on circumstances stated respecting me by Sir Hudson Lowe. But have these circumstances been satisfactorily proved in your Excellency's eyes? Have you heard both sides of the question; or do you think yourself screened from all personal responsibility, by acting on the authority of Sir Hudson Lowe's instructions, and without any regard to my remonstrances? How happens it that Sir Hudson Lowe could not venture, without risk, to detain me at St. Helena, while he finds it more easy and less inconvenient to do so at the Cape?

"If your Excellency should wish to render yourself acquainted with my affair, and to ascertain my sentiments, I am ready to submit to your perusal all my correspondence with the Governor

of St. Helena, and to lay before you my letters to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and his Ministers. I make this offer with the wish that it may be accepted. If to subject myself voluntarily, on my arrival in England, to any measures, however arbitrary, which might be deemed equivalent to my political quarantine here, would induce you to alter your determination, I am ready to accede willingly to that condition: such is my ardent desire to return to Europe, owing to the state of my son's health, and my own; and also on account of the melancholy solitude in which I find myself placed, separated as I am from my family, which is most dear to me, and from the revered object for whose sake I made the sad sacrifice of leaving my country.

"Finally, my Lord, if there remain no chance of my liberation, at least permit my son to depart. Let him not fall a victim to circumstances, to which his age must render him wholly a stranger. I willingly consent to see him separated from me, in the hope of securing to him a happier lot than that which seems to be reserved for me. I will remain here alone, to struggle with my infirmities and sorrows, to which I shall resign myself with the greater indifference, when I reflect that my child is released from the sentence of lingering death which is executing on me, though I have been tried by no tribunal, and condemned by no judge.

"I have the honour to address to your Excellency a letter to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing one for his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. These letters were written before I received the information which you had the goodness to communicate to me on this subject. I know not to which of the Ministers I ought to have addressed myself; but I consider it unnecessary to write the letter over again, as the state of my eyes renders writing a very painful task, and I find that I have observed the necessary forms."

Letter to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing that addressed to the Prince Regent.

"My Lord,—As I know not to which of your colleagues I ought to appeal, I address myself to you, being the individual of whom I have acquired the greatest knowledge through public events. If the details relating to St. Helena have been communicated to your Lordship, they must, doubtless, have inspired you with great prejudice against me; and yet, had they been properly explained, my conduct must have appeared to you worthy of esteem, and, perhaps, even have excited your interest.

"At Longwood I considered myself within a sacred boundary, of which it was my duty to defend the approaches. I would willingly have died on the breach: *I resisted.* But now, when I find myself removed from the revered circle, and

again mingling with the common mass, I assume another attitude: *I implore.*

"I therefore beg and entreat, my Lord, and I speak in the supposition that I am addressing the Minister to whom this appeal ought to be directed, I entreat that you will allow me to proceed to England, since the alarming state of my son's health and my own, renders skilful and prompt medical treatment necessary.

"What reason can there be for refusing my request? It cannot be personal hatred? I am too obscure to attain such an honour. It cannot be the vague dislike arising from difference of opinion? You are so much accustomed to difference of this kind in England, and it is cherished with so little rancour, that it would be ridiculous to suppose such a circumstance could operate to my prejudice. Can it be the fear that I should write or speak of the affairs of St. Helena? But would not your refusal to grant my request, in some measure authorize the bitterness which it will be so easy to vent elsewhere? Besides, if your object were to restrain me from publishing, my residence in England would surely render this object the more secure and easy; for there you have not only general laws, but also particular laws, against such offences. When the individual is near you, you have, as positive guarantees, his prudence, his judgment, and, above all, his wish of remaining in the country.

"Thus, my Lord, I see no motive for refusing my request; but I see many reasons for granting it. You would, by this means, have the fairest opportunity of arriving at the truth, by procuring contradictory and opposite statements. In discharging the noble functions of a juror, can you satisfy your conscience by viewing only one side of the question? I can shew you the other; and I will do so, without prejudice or passion. You will find that I am inspired only by sentiment.

"I must now call your Lordship's attention to my papers which are detained at St. Helena. I have several times explained their nature; but I will once more describe them. They are a collection of manuscripts, in the form of a journal, in which, for the space of eighteen months, I inscribed all that I learned, saw, or heard respecting him, who, in my eyes is, and will ever continue to be, the greatest of men. This journal, which was incomplete, incorrect, unarranged, and, from its nature, requiring continual correction, was a secret, which was revealed only by the circumstance that took place previously to my departure from St. Helena. Its existence was unknown, except perhaps by the august individual who was the object of it; and even he is, at this moment, ignorant of its contents. It was not destined to be published during my life; and I took pleasure in endeavouring to render it a complete and valuable historical monument. My Lord, I beg that you will order

the whole of those papers to be forwarded to you. This you may do without inconvenience. I solemnly protest that they contain nothing that can, either directly or indirectly, be necessary or useful to the local authority of St. Helena, in furtherance of the great object with which that authority is intrusted. The inspection of my papers at St. Helena can be productive of no advantage; but, on the contrary, may occasion serious inconvenience, by aggravating, through the personal allusions contained in them, the ill-humour and irritation that already prevail in too great a degree.

"If, on my arrival in England, your Lordship, from your political situation, should think proper to order the examination of these papers, which are of so sacred and private a nature, I shall cheerfully submit to your judgment, because the examination will take place under my own cognizance, and I shall have the security of those inviolable and sacred forms, which I am sure your Lordship will direct to be observed. I trust you will not refuse this second favour, which I urgently solicit.

"My Lord, I have the honour to forward to you a letter for the Prince Regent, which I beg you will do me the favour to lay before His Royal Highness. My profound respect for his august person alone prevents me from sending it unsealed; and I authorize your Lordship to open it, if custom admits of your doing so.—I have the honour," &c.

Letter to the Prince Regent of England.

"Royal Highness,—The sport of the political tempest, wandering without a home, an unfortunate foreigner presumes, confidently to appeal to your royal heart.

"Twice in the course of my life, I have had the misfortune to leave my country; on both occasions contrary to my interests, and with the intention of fulfilling great and noble duties. During my first exile, my abode in England assuaged the sorrows of my youth, and I trusted that England would again afford me an asylum in which I might enjoy a little tranquillity in my old age. However, I have reason to apprehend that I shall be driven from thence. Why should I be visited with this severity? Can it be on account of the place from whence I came, the attentions which I took pleasure in administering there, and the tender sentiments which I shall ever entertain towards the individual from whom I am now separated? But, Prince, at Longwood I was practising a great and singular virtue; I was supporting, with my worthy companions, the honour of those who surround the thrones of monarchs. After the example we have presented, it cannot henceforth be said that love and fidelity are never shewn to unfortunate sovereigns.

"Should such conduct occasion me to be per-

secuted and banished from the asylum I seek? Surely, he who was always great, when the raced for me from the rock of adversity, these words so gratifying to my heart: *Whether you return to France, or go elsewhere, always boast of the fidelity you have shewn to me*:—surely he, I say, has given me a right and title to the regard of all kings. Prince! I throw myself on your royal protection.

"During my daily intercourse and conversations with him who once ruled the world, and filled the universe with his name, I conceived and executed the intention of writing down daily all that I saw of him, and all that I heard him say.

"This Journal, which includes an interval of eighteen months, and which is single in its kind, but as yet incomplete, incorrect, undetermined, and unknown to all, even the august individual to whom it related,—has been taken from me, and detained at St. Helena. Prince, I also place it under your royal protection, and I venture to entreat that you will receive it into your care, for the sake of justice, truth and history.

"If your Highness should in your goodness deign to afford me your august protection, I shall hasten to seek, in England, an asylum where I may tranquilly recollect and deplore.

"I am, with the most profound respect,

"COUNT LAS CASES."

I received in answer, from Lord Charles Somerset, the permission I had solicited for my son to proceed to Europe by the first opportunity. I wished my son to avail himself of this permission. I urged and even commanded him to do so; but he positively refused. On this subject he wrote a letter to the Governor, which was so gratifying to my feelings, and reflected so much honour on his own heart, that I cannot forbear transcribing it. It was as follows:—

"My Lord,—My father has just communicated to me the permission you grant me to return to Europe. He has entreated and commanded me to accept it.

"I cannot, my Lord, avail myself of your indulgence, and I presume to disobey my father. Bodily afflictions are nothing; the sufferings of the heart alone are hard to be endured. I have been deprived of my mother, and I every moment deplore my separation from her; yet I will never forsake my father in a foreign country, and in a situation so different from all that he has been accustomed to. My health is an object of no importance to me. I shall be happy if I can afford any consolation to my father, and alleviate, by sharing, the miseries which have long been accumulating upon him.

"I prefer dying by his side to living at a distance from him. I am too proud of his distin-

guished virtues, and too eager to imitate his example, to separate from him for a moment. I am ready to die here, since it must be so: there will be two victims instead of one.

"I thank you, my Lord, with all my heart, for your kind intentions respecting me. How grateful should I have been, how should I have blessed you, had you extended them to my father!

"I have the honour to be," &c.

This letter had, doubtless, been read by the family of Lord Charles Somerset, and produced those favourable sentiments which it was naturally calculated to inspire. On the following day, when the young Doctor called to see us, I wished to draw him aside for the purpose of requesting that he would exert his professional influence over my son to induce him to depart. But instead of listening to me, he hastened to Emanuel's chamber, and embracing him, expressed his approval of his conduct, observing that he should not have respected him had he acted otherwise. Conducting him to the window, he introduced him to two ladies, whom he had left in their carriage, and mutual salutation passed between them. These ladies were the two daughters of Lord Charles Somerset, who had this morning themselves brought the Doctor as far as the court yard fronting our prison, probably for the purpose of

satisfying the interest and curiosity which my son's letter had excited.

Our situation continued to be most deplorable. We were confined in a sort of dungeon: our windows, without curtains, overlooked a court yard covered with scorching sand. Though it was now the month of January, we experienced in this hemisphere, the burning heat of summer. We were almost suffocated.

We were still subject to the same restrictions and the same vexations, and the same officers presided at breakfast and dinner. This last circumstance was a particular annoyance to me. I determined to avoid it, and I therefore kept my bed and had my meals served to me there; being determined not to leave my chamber until I should be released from the torments that surrounded me. I was, besides, very unwell from pains in my stomach; I was occasionally feverish, and in short, my health was totally deranged. The officer on duty informed me, it is true, that he had orders to conduct me into the town and even the environs, whenever I should express a wish to that effect. I thanked him, and though I could not myself profit by this favour, I accepted it for my son.

Meanwhile, nobody came near me. Whether it was that the officer, knowing me to be unwell, thought he was rendering me service, or whether he was acting in conformity with orders, I know

not: but he repulsed all who attempted to approach me. This gave rise to a curious circumstance. Our chamber door led into a corridor, along which we were permitted to walk: having one day proceeded to the end of it, I found, contrary to custom, a little door open, leading to a steep staircase. Curiosity induced me to ascend, and I found myself on the platform of the fort, whence I could command a view of Cape Town and the boundless ocean. Struck with the beauty of the spectacle, I became so wrapped in the meditations to which it gave rise, that two hours elapsed ere I thought of returning. By chance I had come out while my son was taking a walk with our officer. In the interim the sentinel had been changed, and when I presented myself at the door leading to our apartments, the soldier placed his musket across it, and rudely refused to admit me. The more I insisted on being admitted, the more angrily he expressed his determination to exclude me. This appeared to me odd enough, but I thought it still more droll when I found it necessary to descend the staircase, pass through the court yards to the outward guardhouse and obtain entrance to my prison by main force. The officer on duty, alarmed at sight of me, ran furiously to the sentinel who was posted on the outside of our apartments, and a violent altercation ensued between them. The officer severely reprimanded the man and threatened to have him punished. The

soldier, with his eyes starting out of his head, declared that he had discharged his duty; and I, who remained a tranquil spectator, could not forbear smiling at this curious dispute, the cause of which no one could explain but myself. However, peace was soon established at the expense of the captive. I was again placed under confinement, and order was restored in the fort.

The only stranger I saw was Doctor Barry, who frequently visited me. I found his company very agreeable. He constantly recommended me to take care of my health. He said he could guess the seat of my disorder, and regretted that it was out of his power to prescribe any remedy for me. I assured him that the greatest favour he could confer on me would be to procure a person who could read to me and write to my dictation. This I had been vainly soliciting since my arrival, for the state of my eyes precluded all occupation, and my son was strictly desired to abstain from all sedentary employment. I therefore laboured under an intolerable depression of spirits, in being thus wholly abandoned to my melancholy thoughts.

The Doctor informed me that the Governor was about to depart, to make a tour over the colony, and that he would be absent about three months. This information precluded the hope of any change in my condition. I determined to make a last attempt, not that I counted on its success,

but only because I wished to leave nothing untried; for the horrible and truly discourteous way in which I had been treated, astonished me less than it was calculated to do. I was prepared for it. At St. Helena we had been repeatedly informed that Lord Charles Somerset was our personal enemy, and on my arrival at the Cape, when I made inquiries respecting his character and the sort of reception I was likely to experience, I was told that nothing but a dog or a horse could claim his attention. Subsequently, in the solitude of my prison, I often thought to myself that being neither a dog nor a horse, I might despair of obtaining any notice from the Governor. I shall soon shew how little Lord Charles Somerset deserved these reflections.

Profiting by a passage in his letter, in which he expressed a wish to render my stay at the Cape as agreeable as possible, I took the opportunity in my next letter to candidly communicate to him my thoughts respecting the treatment I experienced. My letter was as follows:—

"My Lord,—I learn that your Excellency is on the eve of leaving Cape Town, and that you will be absent for a considerable time: this induces me, with extreme repugnance, to enter upon a disagreeable subject, and to call your Excellency's attention to a few domestic details. I think it my duty to do this, for otherwise should any public expression of dissatisfaction hereafter escape me,

I might justly incur the reproach of having addressed no complaint to your Excellency.

"But before I enter on the subject, my Lord, to prevent you from regarding as ridiculous, the facts which I am about to state; and also to afford you a just idea of the circumstances in which I am placed, of which I think it very probable your Excellency is ignorant, permit me to observe, with all the embarrassment of one who is obliged to introduce himself, that there is no individual here with whom I may not, and ought not naturally and without reserve to place myself on a level *in every respect whatever*. Finally, I neither request, nor solicit, any indulgence or favour relative to my personal wants, wishing in this respect to depend entirely on my own resources.

"These two points being fixed and determined, I proceed to that passage in your letter, in which you have the goodness to express your wish of rendering my stay here as agreeable as possible. On this subject, I must acquaint your Excellency, that I am imprisoned in a kind of dungeon, in which it will be difficult for me much longer to support existence.

"My son and I, who are both unwell, are, in this extremely hot weather, lodged in a very small chamber, where we breathe unwholesome air, and have scarcely room to move, for our beds nearly fill it. The scorching rays of the sun, reflecting on a window without curtains, compel me to pass the

day in bed. There is, it is true, another adjoining apartment of the same kind; but it is a dining room, where two of your officers do the honours of the table. If I occasionally enter this room, I count every moment I spend in it. There is a third room, which is occupied by the officer who is appointed as our guard, and through which I must pass, however unpleasant to me, on every indispensable occasion.

" Whatever may be the hardships and miseries of such a situation, I have been a sailor, I have been a soldier, and what is more, I am a man, and I can in silence endure this and even more. I speak here, only in answer to the obliging paragraph in your letter. There is no fire in our apartments; so that if we should require warm water, on account of my son's health, or any transient wants, we must either do without it, or have recourse to the charity of our neighbours. The Doctor has in vain prescribed the use of the bath for my son; no water can be obtained for this purpose. If I feel a wish to procure any little thing at my own expense, I am informed that your Excellency has ordered every thing to be provided for me; and thus from motives of delicacy I repress my wish, and abstain from gratifying it.

" I spare your Excellency a multitude of details, which are equally beneath your notice and mine. When the hour of dinner arrives, two officers,

who, I feel pleasure in acknowledging, treat me with great politeness and respect, preside at the table. But it is a singular fact, though a very certain one, that even their attentions add to my discomfort, by obliging me to endeavour to return them in a suitable way, though it would be far more natural and desirable for me to allow my thoughts to wander far from the spot in which I am now situated. Besides, our habits and manners are totally different. I find myself under the necessity of sitting for several hours at table, when I should not from choice sit for half an hour. All conversation must be disagreeable to me, unless it be on the subject which now wholly occupies my thoughts. Your Excellency has too much judgment not to perceive, that the situation in which I am placed is an absolute torment to me. My melancholy is, doubtless, as irksome to my table companions, as their gaiety is annoying to me. Perfect solitude is alone agreeable to me; and, therefore, I have completely withdrawn from the dinner table, and I take my meals in bed.

"Where is the necessity for an officer being attached to my person? I presume to ask your Excellency this question, while at the same time I repeat with pleasure, that I cannot sufficiently express my satisfaction of the individual whom you have appointed to attend me. Is it for the purpose of watching me? Surely the sentinel posted at my door, is sufficient for that purpose. Can it

be intended as a mark of respect, for the sake of transferring any wish that I may express? But I have no wish. Can it be to give the sanction of authority to any visits I may receive? I can receive none, except such as are permitted by authority. Is it for the purposes of accompanying me in my walks? I will never consent to stir a step, if I must be a charge to an officer. I shall not therefore go abroad.

"Since, my Lord, you are determined that I shall remain your prisoner, what objection can you have to placing me in a house in the town, and permitting me to engage, at my own expense, any valet, cook, &c. that may suit me, with the precautions that you may think proper to adopt. When thus left to myself, your Excellency might provide as you pleased for my security. You would hear no more of me. If I felt a wish to go out in a carriage, or otherwise, I could write to the officer: I know his obliging disposition, and my wish would be granted. I have mentioned a house in the town, my Lord, because the state of my son's health, which requires constant, and often sudden medical attendance, renders a residence in the country objectionable.

"Such are the details to which I feel myself compelled to call your Excellency's attention. I hope that they may be less disagreeable and painful to you than they are to me.

"I have the honour to be," &c.

This letter was, from its nature, calculated to lead to a decisive result. I received an immediate answer. The Adjutant-General came to inform me, in the name of the Governor—1st. That he had given orders that a separate chamber should be assigned to my son on the following day;—2d. That the officers should no longer take their meals with us;—3d. That a more convenient residence was preparing for us; and, finally, that if I had any other wish to express, endeavours would be made to comply with it.

Such was the effect of my letter. It was successful beyond my hopes, and I congratulated myself on having written it, because it afforded me the opportunity of discovering traits in the character of Lord Charles Somerset, of which I had previously no idea. But this was not all.—Early on the following morning, the Governor's first Aide-de-camp wrote to acquaint me that he had a communication to make to me on the part of his Excellency, and he wished me to appoint the hour at which it would be convenient for me to receive him. On the receipt of my answer he came, and informed me that the Governor had that morning left town, to make a tour of three months. His Excellency had expressed himself very sorry to learn that I had been so exceedingly unwell, and begged that I would do him the justice to believe that he was entirely ignorant of the fact. The Aide-de-camp was instructed to tell me

that Lord Charles Somerset had nothing more at heart than to render my abode at the Cape as agreeable as it could be; and he offered me the use of his country residence, the servants, and every thing belonging to it. He begged that I would take possession of it, repeating that, if I had any other wish, I need only name it and it would be complied with. I accepted, without hesitation, the offer of the change of residence, and the Aide-de-camp went to give the necessary orders for our immediate removal.

I now discovered how greatly the Governor's character had been misrepresented to me. I found that Lord Charles Somerset possessed the grace and courtesy of manners requisite for his high rank. How much men differ one from another! At St. Helena such a letter as I had written would probably have had the effect of doubly riveting my chains; but here it procured for me the offer of a palace. This fact is in itself sufficient to characterize the two authorities with whom I have had to treat. Lord Charles Somerset was, indeed, far from meriting the reports I had heard respecting him. Almost every man has his detractors; and those who have high functions to discharge seldom escape the tongue of calumny. Lord Charles, as I had subsequently the opportunity of ascertaining, is a man distinguished for noble and generous feeling, moral principle, piety, and perfect benevolence. None of the vexations by which

I had been so greatly harassed proceeded from him, but from subordinate agents, who executed orders and influenced decisions. For the persons in authority here, who were the slaves of vulgar national prejudice, hated us as Frenchmen, and esteemed themselves happy in subjecting us to all the severity which it was in their power to inflict.

If I had enjoyed the advantage of personal intercourse with the Governor, in which, I have reason to believe, there would have been no difficulty, I doubt not that, in pleading my cause with Lord Charles Somerset, I should have obtained all I demanded, because my demands were perfectly just; but my situation withheld me from seeking access to him, and it seemed to be the wish of those about him to prevent him coming near me. He several times announced his intention of seeing me, it is true, but this intention was never fulfilled.

Removal to Newlands, the Governor's Country Residence.—Details.

From Jan. 29th to April 5th.—Early this morning, precisely at the hour that had been appointed, the Governor's Aide-de-camp drove up to the door of our prison in a carriage and four. We set out; and in less than three quarters of an hour we reached Newlands, the Governor's country house, which might be accounted a pleasant residence

even in Europe. I could easily perceive that several years had elapsed since the place had first received its name, for it was surrounded by lofty trees and thick groves: many of the fruit-trees were in full bearing.

One of the Governor's Aides-de-camp placed us in possession, with all due form and with the most studied politeness. He conducted me over the grounds, and pointed out to me every thing worthy of notice, without mentioning a word about limits or restrictions. He took an opportunity of adroitly hinting to me that the soldiers whom I saw posted about, were merely the Governor's ordinary guards, and had received none but their usual orders. He added, that I might consider myself at home, as every thing would be done under my own direction. He then took his leave.

When left to ourselves in this delightful place, we felt that we had been suddenly removed from a prison to a Paradise. The elegantly furnished apartments, the dovecots in the vicinity of the house, the birds of every kind that inhabited the grounds, the numerous flower-beds, groves, and delightful walks, and the silence and solitude that prevailed—all presented a somewhat magical effect, and reminded us of Zemire and Azor.

We had the use of the whole house, in which all the furniture remained just as it had been left by the Governor's family; not an article having been removed. My son, on opening a colour-box,

found an unfinished drawing, by one of the daughters of Lord Charles Somerset. It was a portrait of the revered object whose fate we deplore; for where is his image not to be found? Beside the drawing lay the copy from which it had been taken. It was a wretched sketch; a sort of caricature likeness of the Emperor, which had been made on board the Northumberland. This thing seemed to haunt us wherever we went, and we always destroyed it with the ardent zeal of missionaries breaking the images of false gods. In the impulse of the moment my son made his poetical *debut*, by writing the following lines beneath Miss Somerset's unfinished drawing:—

Sous vos doigts élégans tout devrait s'embellir;
C'est aux belles surtout à peindre le courage:
Du héros des héros, du Mars de l'avenir,
Comment avez-vous pu défigurer l'image?

I placed beside the drawing a small medal, which afforded a more faithful representation of Napoleon. We then shut up the box, pleased with our trick, and enjoying, in anticipation, Miss Somerset's surprise when she should one day read, and we hoped without anger, the censure which we had presumed to pronounce upon her drawing.

The Governor had carried his attention so far as to send from town a person to act as steward at Newlands, to receive from me daily orders for provisions; and I was given to understand that I

might be supplied profusely with whatever I wished for. But I had adopted Spartan manners, and I desired to be supplied merely with necessaries. As to the steward, I changed his occupation, and made him my reader; in which capacity I found him a most valuable acquisition. By chance this person proved to be a relative of the only inhabitant of St. Helena with whom I had formed acquaintance. He was the nephew of the worthy Amphitrion, our good host of the Briars, for whom I entertain a sincere regard.

The Aide-de-camp visited us regularly, having received special instructions to see that we wanted for nothing. I begged that he would present my thanks and acknowledgments to Lord Charles Somerset, for the delicate way in which he sought to disguise our captivity. "But it was all one," I informed him; "since, in spite of ourselves, we "must deplore our absence from St. Helena and "Europe."

Our departure from prison and removal to Newlands, produced quite a revolution in our condition. We received visits from many individuals, who expressed themselves anxious to see us. General Hall, who acted as the Governor's deputy during his absence, came, accompanied by his wife, a lady of very pleasing person and manners, and who, moreover, spoke French exceedingly well. Her husband had been eleven years a prisoner in France. Mrs. Hall had proceeded thither to join him, in

spite of the great restrictions which then existed between the two countries; and, if I recollect rightly, she ventured across the channel in an open boat. Both General and Mrs. Hall were intimate with many of my friends in Paris. General Hall, who is a frank and honourable man, observed that he should feel happy in repaying me, without regard to difference of opinion, for all the good treatment he had generously experienced in France; and he kept his word.

I was also visited by Colonel Ware, whose wife has a sister married to one of the members of the present English Ministry. Colonel Ware resided at a short distance from Newlands, and he came, he said, to offer me his services as a good neighbour; and, indeed, I found him an extremely agreeable one, from his kind and unremitting attentions to me. Finally, a lady, distinguished in rank and in every other respect, who at that time accidentally happened to be in the colony, had the charity several times to visit the captive. This was an unlooked-for happiness; for the act of kindness thus conferred on me was enhanced by the charms of agreeable conversation, combined with graceful manners and the most captivating modesty. She was a lovely European flower, amidst the heath of the Cape.

We were also visited in our solitude by numerous officers of all ranks, who expressed sincere sympathy and interest for our misfortunes. Had their

kindness at that time come to the knowledge of the English Ministry, it might have operated to their prejudice. Even now, though with a great sacrifice to my feelings, I must, at all hazards, refrain from mentioning their names. But they may be assured that none of their actions or words were lost upon me; for gratitude is a sentiment innate in my heart.

Curiosity also had its share in attracting visitors to me. Every stranger who arrived at the colony, and in particular the numerous passengers who were proceeding to India, failed not to visit Newlands. I was a ray escaped from Longwood, and all were eager to see one who had recently been near Napoleon, whom I found to be every where the universal object of interest, and the constant subject of conversation.

I had now an opportunity of answering many questions that were addressed to me respecting the Emperor, the theme on which I always dwelt most fondly. How many prejudices did I not destroy? How much astonishment did I not create? It would now be difficult to conceive how many atrocious and absurd reports respecting the Emperor, had gained credit owing to the long suspension of intercourse between the two nations, and their mutual feelings of irritation. Will it be believed that a military officer of high rank, a man of considerable intelligence, begged that I would tell him candidly whether Napoleon was really

capable of writing. He took it for granted that he was a mere soldier, and nothing else. He seemed, indeed, almost to doubt whether he could read. I laughed, and asked whether he had ever seen his military proclamations? He replied that he had, but that he supposed these had been made for him. This officer was much astonished, and acknowledged he had nothing further to say on the subject, when I informed him that, at the age of twenty-seven, Napoleon had been a Member of the French Institute, undoubtedly the first learned establishment in Europe.

As soon as we had fixed our residence at Newlands, my first care was to send to Longwood a few articles of which the Emperor stood in need. I knew, from experience, how many privations he had to endure in that abode of misery, where it was found impossible to procure many things which long habit had rendered necessary or agreeable. With my heart full of these recollections, I resolved to transmit to him whatever I could procure; though I was well aware that the Emperor attached but little importance to luxuries of any kind. I however ordered some of the best Constantia and Bordeaux wines, coffee, liqueurs, oil, eau de cologne, &c. I mentioned that, if they were not of the most superior quality, I would decline purchasing them. The Cape is yet but ill supplied with the luxuries of Europe. Excepting Constantia wine, which is the production of the

place, only small quantities of the articles I had ordered could be procured. I had taken the precaution to ask General Hall whether I should be permitted to send the things, and he very politely replied in the affirmative. With the view of facilitating the reception of this little package at St. Helena, I had determined not to have it brought to me at the Cape. I requested the officers of the Governor's staff to have the goodness to make the purchases for me, and only reserved to myself the charge of paying for them. I mentioned these precautions in a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I addressed the whole. It is stated by Mr. O'Meara that, on the arrival of these things at St. Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe expressed himself much offended at what I had done, which, he said, was an insult to the English Government; and in answer to me, he afterwards stated that, though I had acted with much delicacy, yet it was out of his power to permit the articles to be transmitted to Longwood, because he was charged, in the name of the English Government, to provide every thing that was wanting at that establishment.—He forgot that he had often assured us the sum allowed him was insufficient for the purpose; and that we, on our part, had frequently complained to him of wanting necessaries. However, I afterwards understood that the articles had been sent to Longwood, and I had the inexpressible satisfaction of learning that the Constantia wine, in

particular, had pleased the Emperor. It was reserved for his own use, and he called it by my name. In his last moments, when rejecting every thing that was offered to him, and not knowing what to have recourse to, he said—"Give me a "glass of Las Cases' wine." How was I gratified to hear of this!

At the same time, I sent back to Sir Hudson Lowe the eventual deed which, at the sad moment of my departure, had been given to me for the 4000 louis which I left for the Emperor's use. It stated that the sum was to be immediately repaid to me. On my hesitating to accept it, the Governor Sir Hudson Lowe, ironically said—"Take it, "take it. You will go where the General has "funds, and that will enable you to get payment." Afterwards, when I came to recollect this circumstance, not doubting the report that Sir Hudson Lowe would make of it to his Ministers, I thought I would send back the deed, with the request that he would transmit to the English Government a correction of the *erroneous commentaries*, with which I was convinced he had not failed to accompany his account of the circumstance. "I reserve to myself," said I, in my letter to him, "merely the signature, which to me is more valuable than the sum itself. The deed is useless, I added. The Emperor's relations would, I am sure, dispute the honour of paying me back the sum; or, in case of emergency, the first Frenchman I may

happen to meet, will be ready to open a credit account with me."

We had now been two months at Newlands, and from what I have already stated, many may be led to believe that we were perfectly happy. But can there be happiness in a state of captivity, far from one's native country? . . . We merely wiled away the hours as agreeably as we could. We regulated our time, and distributed our occupations. My son pursued his studies. The piano of the Misses Somerset was one of his favourite amusements. I read a great deal; for I had books beside me, and my friends regularly furnished me with the journals and new publications. In the evenings, my son walked with me in the beautiful groves surrounding the house; or, as he had bought a horse, he sometimes took an excursion in the neighbourhood, and then returned to ride back and forward in the beautiful alleys of Newlands, where I sat down, and took pleasure in observing him. . . I thought I could see his health revive, and his strength develop itself.

I must confess, that in these delicious summer evenings, the pure sky, the fresh air, and the beauty of the whole surrounding scene, occasionally afforded me a few hours' enjoyment: this was my adieu to life. . . . . The rigidity of feeling occasioned by the treatment we had experienced at St. Helena, relaxed amidst the charms and perfect tranquillity of this delightful place, and I was

oftener than once tempted to say, why is not the rest of my family here! . . . Alas! if the Emperor were but as well situated! . . . But these moments of oblivion were brief and of rare occurrence; for, I repeat, there can be no complete and perfect happiness far from one's country and the objects we love. With whatever charms we may be surrounded, we are ever amidst the desert. This state of feeling, and my impatience to arrive at a termination of my distress, insensibly had an effect on my health. My constant sleepless nights afforded no respite to my misery. In vain I devoted myself to occupation and exercise during the day, and delayed until late the moment of retiring to rest. No sooner did I lie down than, in spite of myself, my thoughts instantly turned on the interval that had gone by. I counted one day less in my exile, and I calculated over and over again the time that must yet elapse ere the order for our deliverance could arrive from London, the accidents that might retard it, &c. These thoughts having once taken possession of my mind, I found it absolutely impossible to close my eyes; and thus I nightly endured the most cruel torments that can be conceived.

Meanwhile, the period of the Governor's return was at hand; and I began to be perplexed at the idea of thus finding myself in the same house with him; I presumed it would not be very agreeable to either party, to have to confound together, un-

der the same roof, hospitality and seclusion. But my embarrassment was soon at an end. Whether it was fact or pretence I know not; but the Colonial Secretary came to inform me that in consequence of the expected arrival of Lord Amherst, who was returning to Europe from his embassy to China, the Governor found it necessary to assign another residence to me.

This Colonial Secretary, whom I have not yet mentioned, though he was the second civil officer in the colony, was a man perfectly eccentric, both in person and character. He had been several times a Member of Parliament. He knew every thing, discussed every thing, and usually confused every thing he meddled with: he was said to be like an encyclopædia, with the sheets bound up in their wrong places. He first took it into his head to fix our abode in a residence which he had caused the Government to hire. Fortunately, he relinquished this design, because various difficulties opposed its execution. We should, I believe, have been obliged to proceed thither by sea; and even had we been safely established in this abode, there would have been some uncertainty respecting the facility of communication with us when necessary. At length, it was determined that we should be lodged with a worthy family who resided about eight or ten leagues from the Cape, at a place called Tygerberg (Tiger Hill), which name it received from the Dutch, on account of the nume-

rous tigers that inhabited the place, at the time when it was first occupied.

This occupation is not of very remote date; for these lands have not been exclusively in the possession of the civilized inhabitants until very recently. Several persons informed me that they had themselves seen tigers in the beautiful grounds of Newlands. It would appear that the Dutch, confining themselves to maritime affairs, devoted but little, or at least tardy, attention to the progress of colonization. Now, however, the industry and activity of the English are giving a different turn to affairs. All parts of the Cape, and Cape Town in particular, which the sailors call the *half-way house* of the two worlds, will infallibly rise to the highest importance. The soil is rich, and the climate admirable. The productions of the temperate zone, and those of the tropics, may be cultivated almost in all parts and at once. English settlers emigrate to the Cape in great numbers; and the population is rapidly increasing. Europe invaded Africa by the south, and the European race will, in course of time, spread over the whole continent, as it is now spread over America. From Botany Bay, Europeans will, in course of time, extend to New Holland, and from thence subjugate China. The European race will rule the globe; happy should it expiate, by the blessings of civilization, the crimes of conquest, or its impurity of origin!

Residence at Tygerberg.—The Name of Napoleon familiar in the Desert.—Manuscript of St. Helena, &c.

From April 6th to August 19th.—We left Newlands about the middle of the day, and at night reached Tygerberg. Our new host was a Mr. Baker, a native of Coblentz, or its neighbourhood, and we looked upon him as one of our countrymen, from his origin, his opinions, and the sympathy he shewed us. The family altogether formed the most agreeable society imaginable. It would have been impossible for us to have been treated with greater respect and attention. All our wishes were anticipated and gratified. We now commenced the third period of our captivity at the Cape. The first, was our insupportable imprisonment in the Castle, which fortunately lasted only ten days: the second, was our abode in the charming retreat of Newlands: the third, was our residence at the desert of Tygerberg, which was to continue for the space of four months; and even this might not be the termination of our captivity!

At Tygerberg, we found ourselves situated on the confines of the wandering hordes. The country, here and there, presented detached habitations, at considerable distances from each other. These were occupied by cultivators of various nations, who were clearing the new grounds, in order to turn them to profitable account; and with per-

severance, regularity, and a little capital, their efforts will, no doubt, be successful. Though now removed to the very extremity of the civilized world, we found ourselves treated with even more than kindness. We observed that the people here were neither ignorant nor indifferent with respect to the events of Europe, which, on the contrary, excited an unusual degree of interest. The majority of the population was Dutch, and was, therefore, connected with our national system. Thus, to my surprise, I found the name of Napoleon familiar in this desert. The most victorious game cock in the neighbourhood was called Napoleon! The swiftest racehorse was Napoleon! The most invincible bull in the country was Napoleon! I could not refrain from laughing at this. But every one has his own way of rendering honour and respect; and Napoleon was the noblest of all names in the estimation of the inhabitants of Tygerberg.

Notwithstanding our removal from the town, we still continued to receive many visits, and it was very gratifying to us to calculate the degree of interest that was felt for us, by the degree of reserve and embarrassment we excited. While we were at Tygerberg, we heard of the wreck of a French ship, the *Alouette*, which ran aground in the neighbourhood of the Cape. I was happy enough to have it in my power to communicate to the crew my sincere sympathy for their misfortune. I never observed so forcibly as here, at the extremity

of the earth, how much fellow-countrymen feel themselves to be brothers, in spite of political dissensions. I had already enjoyed the satisfaction of receiving proofs that the same sentiments were entertained with respect to me. Frenchmen secretly visited me, even in this desert. Many had previously gained access to Newlands, at the hazard of their personal safety and interest, for the purpose of offering me their services. Even when I was under close confinement in Cape Town, several of my countrymen found means to convey to me expressions of their regard. It is in such situations that testimonies of kindness are most felt and appreciated.

The interest we excited was not, however, confined to Frenchmen alone. An American Captain came to me, and offered to snatch me from captivity. He informed me that he had adopted every precaution, and made every necessary arrangement; and, he observed, that all depended on my own will, since Mr. Baker was not my jailor, but merely my host. Yet what would have been the use of embracing this proposal? I had but one point, one object, in view, and that was, to repair to London and appeal to the English Ministers.

We endeavoured to amuse ourselves with our usual occupations. I had procured a person to read to me, and I kept him well employed. In spite of the distance, our friends still continued to supply us with the journals and new publications.

At this time, I read the Letters written during the last reign of the Emperor, by Mr. Hobhouse, who, I believe, was the first who ventured to speak favourably of Napoleon. I also procured Doctor Warden's work, which, though containing many errors, was, I am confident, written with the very best intentions; and finally, I obtained a sight of the famous Manuscript of St. Helena, which excited so much interest and curiosity throughout Europe. Opinion was powerfully divided on the subject of this publication; a thousand conjectures were afloat respecting its authenticity and real origin. It would certainly be difficult for me to describe the astonishment and doubt which it excited in my mind. What were my feelings and thoughts when I found pages of truth, which seemed to have escaped from my own secret collection, mingled with whole pages of error and frivolity! I several times stopped, doubting whether I was not dreaming. I recognised not only the substance of certain passages, but even phrases and expressions, in the literal form in which I had myself transcribed them from the mouth of the narrator. They were contained in the very papers which Sir Hudson Lowe had detained at St. Helena. I could positively have affirmed, that all the grand ideas and noble conceptions, formed by Napoleon, —all the political speculations,—and, in short, all the most attractive and interesting contents of the celebrated Manuscript, were in my Journal

collected from the conversation of Napoleon. If only this portion of the publication had been read to me, I should not, for a moment, have doubted that the work had been obtained directly from Longwood. Even the dates would have warranted this conclusion; for six or seven months had now elapsed since my expulsion from St. Helena. But whence had been procured the alloy with which the better portion of the work was mingled up? This was a riddle which I could not attempt to guess. Can it be, thought I, that the facts contained in this publication, have been surreptitiously derived from my papers, certain parts of which may have been selected and put together by strange hands? But, besides that, I could not bring myself to cherish such a disagreeable suspicion without better proof; what probability was there that the hostile authority of St. Helena would favour the publication of that, which was, upon the whole, favourable to the illustrious victim of the ostracism of kings?

What was the real sentiment which dictated the Manuscript of St. Helena? This is, in many instances, very equivocal. By what hands was it produced? This question gives rise to many contradictory conjectures. Finally, it may be asked, what was the real object of the publication? It presents various styles, various sentiments, and bears evidence of various degrees of information. This publication must have been the patchwork

production of various hands; for how could the individual, who appears to have been so familiar with the secret designs of the supposed author and his cabinet, have been ignorant of his opinion on various public acts, when that opinion was accessible to every body? as, for example, on the subject of Napoleon's first marriage; the situation of the French in Egypt; the trial of the Duke d'Enghien; &c.

Is it probable that the man who could have procured by his own means, facts of so confidential a nature, should have been reduced to the necessity of mingling them up with vulgar errors? And even supposing any one to have had sufficient shrewdness to have guessed these great truths, would not his judgment have suggested to him the propriety of being correct with respect to the rest. I shall say nothing of the far-fetched and singular phraseology which disfigures the work, and which can only be regarded as a proof of bad taste and an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. Neither shall I comment on the numerous and extraordinary anachronisms which this Manuscript contains. These and other circumstances render the publication totally inexplicable.

Meanwhile, time was running on, and I saw no probable termination of my exile. The interval necessary for obtaining a return of communication from England had now expired, and still I heard nothing of my removal. I was seized with profound

melancholy, and almost reduced to despair. I suffered severely from continual and violent pains in my stomach. My restlessness at night still continued, my health daily declined, and disease made rapid inroads on my constitution. I was at this time attacked with pains in the head which have never since quitted me. At Balcombe's cottage and at Newlands, I had, at intervals, after prolonged occupation, experienced a shooting pain in my head, like an electrical stroke. This, whenever it occurred, I attributed to fatigue; and if I suspended my occupation, the pain immediately left me. But I now began to be troubled with a continued pain, accompanied, when I happened to be standing, with a slight giddiness, and sometimes attended with a painful sensation about my heart. Hence I date the commencement and origin of a disease, which, for the last five years, has attacked all parts of my head, under various symptoms and with various degrees of pain, without leaving me even a single day's respite. For some time I suffered violent and repeated shooting pains above one or the other of my eyes, accompanied by an intolerable ringing in my ears. I was seized with deafness; but after some time this entirely left me. At another period, all conversation, particularly if I maintained it with any degree of warmth, immediately brought on a swelling about my ears which impeded the motion of my jaw. I have sometimes felt as though

little pimples were suddenly rising under my hair; and this was really the fact, though their existence was but momentary. At other times, all the muscles of my neck became stiff and painful. After my arrival in Germany, this state of health brought on such extreme debility that I found it impossible to apply myself to any thing whatever. I could do nothing, not even dictate a few lines; though fortunately I could listen to any thing that was read to me, for several hours in succession, without inconvenience.

I have in vain had recourse to the faculty. No remedy has afforded me any immediate relief, and hitherto I have found that the most effectual method is to abstain entirely from medicine.

After my return to France I experienced a considerable improvement in my health. By dint of repose and retirement, I found myself daily gathering strength. But still, whenever I tried to converse for any length of time, or to bend my thoughts to any particular subject, I immediately experienced a recurrence of my disorder. I felt as though a weight were pressing on the crown of my head.

During my convalescence, hearing that complaints had been made respecting the negligent style of the preceding volumes of my Journal, I determined to bestow greater attention on editing the succeeding ones. But this application was more than my strength enabled me to bear, and I

relapsed into a state of illness, worse, perhaps, than what I had formerly suffered. Thus I have been several times forced to suspend these last parts of my Journal; and I have even been apprehensive that I should be totally unable to conclude the work. Now, however, I suffer more from debility than pain. The slightest degree of fatigue produces a relapse of my disorder, attended by a sudden weakness over my whole frame. I feel a great difficulty in walking; and, whenever I stand up, I experience a kind of hesitation and trembling. The ground seems to fail me, I am seized with a staggering, and am obliged to support myself, lest I should fall. Vertigo in the head is a common disorder; mine, however, may be called a vertigo in the feet. But to resume my subject.

During the increasing indisposition under which I was labouring at Tygerberg, I wrote to request that the Governor would permit me to return to the town, for the sake of obtaining medical aid. But this request was vain: Lord Charles Somerset now turned a deaf ear to my representations.

In the impatience and irritation excited by the prolongation of my captivity, I several times, during my residence at Tygerberg, resumed, and perhaps in energetic terms, my appeals to the Governor, requesting that he would permit me to return to Europe. I have reason to believe that I succeeded in moving him. Whether from feelings of justice on his part, or from what other

cause I know not, but I am sure he was not without hesitation and anxiety respecting me. He probably asked himself whether it was proper in him to become a jailor after the manner of Sir Hudson Lowe? And whether he had a right, after all, to deprive me of my liberty? But whenever he thus wavered, his ill-natured advisers were at hand to confirm him in his resolution of detaining me. "Is he not well lodged and well fed?" said they. "What then has he to complain of? and how has he acknowledged the good treatment he has experienced? By confining himself and refusing to go abroad, in order to give a greater colouring of probability to what he is pleased to call his tyrannical imprisonment.—What has been the violent tone of his letters, which have always been out of place?" Every thing was turned to my prejudice, and one circumstance in particular was taken advantage of for this purpose. On the arrival of Lord Amherst and Admiral Plampim, Lord Charles Somerset, with the intention probably of affording the strangers an opportunity of seeing and questioning me, sent me, in the midst of my desert at Tygerberg, a formal invitation to a ball, which, as well as I can recollect, was given in honour of the Prince Regent's birth-day. The messenger was directed to wait for my answer. I wrote it on the card of invitation, and in very decided terms. I was vexed that Lord Charles Somerset seemed to have so

little idea of the melancholy situation in which I was placed, as to imagine me capable of going to a ball. The persons about the Governor probably insinuated that, if his Excellency had committed a fault in detaining me, it was now too late to remedy it; that the thing was done, and his Lordship would be held responsible for it; that to alter his determination would be an acknowledgment that he did not know how to act; would be condemning himself, &c. I presume, therefore, it was resolved to incur the chance of letting the affair come to a close any way it would.*

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* Chance has thrown in my way a document, which affords a decided proof of the manner in which Lord Charles Somerset acted. I have now in my possession a duplicate of a letter from Mr. Goulburn, the Under Secretary of State, addressed to Madame Las Cases, at Paris, and dated February 21st, 1817. The letter states that Mr. Goulburn is commissioned, by Lord Bathurst, to inform Madame Las Cases of the departure of her husband from St. Helena for the Cape; and that, in case he should determine on returning to Europe, he might be expected about the month of May. Yet I did not leave the Cape until three months later, namely, about the end of August! Thus it would appear that Lord Bathurst had no intention of detaining me there; and that Lord Charles Somerset, instead of executing the orders of the English Minister, merely obeyed the suggestions of Sir Hudson Lowe. I certainly have no reason to suppose that Lord Bathurst would, in the slightest degree, regret this irregularity, however fatal it might be to me. But, if I know any thing of the character of Lord Charles, I am sure he must have been sorry for it. Being fully persuaded of this, I sincerely forgive him for the treatment I experienced.

All these adverse circumstances combined to estrange Lord Charles Somerset entirely from me, and so far offended him, that in spite of his natural disposition, he treated me with a degree of inhumanity. I addressed a letter to him, describing the state of my health, and urging the indispensable necessity of my removal to the town. But to this he coolly replied, in a note sent by his Aide-de-camp, that though he could not alter his arrangements, he had given orders for my obtaining medical attendance. But I was situated at a distance of eight or ten leagues from Cape Town; the Doctor could only visit me once a week; and as he prescribed remedies, which could only be procured in the town, their application was impracticable. I lost all patience on reading this answer, which seemed to be an act of cruel irony rather than a measure of relief; and I indignantly addressed a letter directly to the Colonial Secretary. I stated that, "as it was by his direction, I had been removed to Mr. Baker's, I took the liberty of informing him, that as it was absolutely necessary I should be near my medical attendant, I presumed he could have no objection to my removal to the town, to the house of Dr. Leisching, Mr. Baker's father-in-law." He replied that he had consulted with the Governor, and that his Excellency had declared that his instructions did not admit of my coming back to Cape Town.

But I determined not to be satisfied with this,

and I again wrote to the Colonial Secretary. I informed him, that, "in spite of his letter, nothing but absolute force should prevent me from quitting Tygerberg. I was determined to repair to the town, and that the Governor might, if he pleased, confine me there, and even keep me a closer prisoner than I was at Tygerberg, as, at least, I should enjoy the advantage of being within reach of medical advice and remedies; that though perhaps I had no reason to attach great value to existence, yet I felt it to be a kind of duty to defend my life." Fortunately, the permission for my departure at length arrived from England, just at the very moment when I was about to execute my determination; otherwise I know not how the matter would have ended. The Governor communicated this welcome intelligence to me, accompanied by the offer of a lodging prepared for me in the town. But I declined accepting it, and proceeded, as I had originally intended, to the house of Dr. Leisching, where I experienced all the attention and hospitality of Tygerberg, in a truly patriarchal family, whose society produced a beneficial effect on my health and spirits.

Now commenced a new series of vexations. I was doomed to drain the cup of disappointment to the very dregs. The Governor, when he informed me of my release, mentioned that two opportunities presented themselves for my departure, and he wished me to make choice of one. I imme-

diately replied that the speediest would be the most desirable. I now confidently expected the receipt of my passports, and the final commands of the Governor. I was confined to my bed. Two days elapsed; and in the mean time one of the ships sailed. What was my vexation and disappointment, particularly when I was afterwards informed that the Governor had nothing more to communicate to me; and that I was at liberty to make whatever arrangements I pleased respecting my departure. I vehemently complained that the first opportunity should have been allowed to escape; but for this there was no remedy. A large transport ship was lying in the harbour, which was destined to convey a regiment of artillery to England. I begged the Governor would permit me to take my passage in this vessel, as there were medical officers on board. His answer was, that there was no accommodation for me. In vain I represented that if there had been two additional artillery officers, they would certainly not be left behind; that if there were two more sailors to be embarked, they would surely find room for them; and we wanted no better accommodation. All these arguments were unavailing. I was informed the ship was to touch at St. Helena, and that this circumstance, in itself, would preclude the possibility of my taking passage on board of her. I was compelled to yield, and to confine myself to the choice which the Go-

vernor had so generously left me, which was to proceed to Europe by the only ship that was then in the harbour. This was an extremely small brig, an absolute cock-boat, destined to perform a voyage of 3,000 leagues. However, I felt no hesitation. I would have jumped into the sea rather than have delayed another moment. The bargain was soon struck, and I was now all impatience for the moment of departure.

The Captain of the brig informed me that he had received orders from the Governor to prohibit me from having any communication on shore, if he should be obliged to touch at any place in course of the voyage; and on reaching England, he was not to suffer me to land until he should previously receive orders from Government. Thus I was absolutely a prisoner in the hands of this man, though I was bound to pay him the sum which he had been pleased to demand for my passage. This circumstance appeared to me so extraordinary, that I wished to obtain a confirmation of it, lest it might be the subject of doubt when I should have to relate it. Therefore, when, for the last time, I applied to the Governor for my passports, I called his attention to this extraordinary fact. I begged that he would certify, in his answer to me, that I had myself agreed to pay for my passage on board the brig, which, by his instructions, was now converted into my prison.

But, as it may be supposed, I received my passports and nothing more.

PASSAGE TO EUROPE.

A Space of about a Hundred Days.

FROM WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, TO FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

We sail from the Cape.—Our Passage.—We anchor in the Downs.

Towards evening we proceeded to the beach, accompanied by our two excellent hosts of Tygerberg and the Cape, whose hospitable cares, extreme attention, and all the proofs of true affection which they gave us, have inspired us with deep feelings of gratitude. The weather was calm, but as we entered the boat, a favourable breeze sprung up as by enchantment. We all exclaimed that this was an auspicious omen; but it was far from proving so: for it will be seen that our passage turned out to be one of the longest, and towards the end, most frightful and terrible.

We got on board, the anchor was weighed, and we at last set sail for that Europe we had so long wished for.

From the moment we got under weigh, I and

my son were separated from Cape Town and the coast of Africa for ever. Not that they were out of sight even on the next day; but, because we both remained shut up below, suffering most terribly from sea-sickness, the effects of which lasted a considerable time, and of which we thought we should die. Our accommodation was small, dirty, and inconvenient; our brig was of about 200 tons, at most; and the crew consisted of twelve hands, two of whom were boys; and, indeed, with the exception of the Captain and the Mate, the only two who could be reckoned as good sailors, and of the Cook, an infirm old man, all the rest were mere lads. This want of hands was the more striking to me, and tended the more to increase my natural disposition to sea-sickness; as, with the exception of the Griffin, I had never been on board any but seventy-four gun ships, manned by seven or eight hundred men.

Yet, whether this violent commotion acted as a natural remedy, or otherwise, certain it is, that notwithstanding the badness of the accommodation, the execrable food that was given to us, and the total privation of all comforts, my health, and that of my son, were soon visibly improved;—after that believe in physic! The fact is, as the Emperor would often say, man is a machine constructed to live, and the functions of nature are more powerful than the science of men.

After thirteen days' sailing, we reached the tro-

pic of Capricorn, and fell in with the trade winds. On the Sunday after that, the 7th of September, we passed in sight of St. Helena, but at a distance of upwards of fifteen leagues; it was hardly possible to perceive it. It would be necessary to have been on that Island, situated as I had been, led there by similar motives, and to have felt the same affections, and all the other sentiments which my residence there had inspired me with, in order to conceive all the sensations which I experienced on finding myself near that spot,—all the thoughts which occurred to my mind,—the feelings of regret which assailed me. I had had it in my power to remain there; and I had wilfully chosen to banish myself from it! . . . . Indeed the experience I had had of the Cape, began to make me fear that I had founded my determination on chimeras.

We were now sailing smoothly towards the equator, on this tropical sea, on which we had to go upwards of 3,000 leagues. Our little vessel composed our universe. What a vast field of meditation! to find one's self alone, during about a hundred days, on the vast ocean, without any other shelter than the immense expanse of the heavens, on a floating atom, and separated only by a frail plank from the voracity of the sea monsters, and an unfathomable abyss! . . . What an element our daring courage has conquered! What advantages have we not derived from it! Ah,

how great is man, how sublime are his efforts, how admirable the success with which they are crowned!

We were surrounded by shoals of fishes; they seemed to be here especially in their own empire. It appeared, at times, as if the vessel would not be able to open a passage through them. In this sea, generally smooth and tranquil, ever under the influence of the same wind, when the sails are once trimmed, there is scarcely any thing more to do than to let the ship go on; therefore each sailor generally devoted his leisure to endeavour to catch some of the numerous fishes around us; and when they succeeded, which was not very often, it was to us a subject of great joy and satisfaction. We were so badly fed, and in a style so contrary to our habits, that an albicorn, a bonito, a dolphin, fishes which are not very good in themselves, appeared to us delicious, and that such a prize was a dainty meal for every one of us; we should, I think, have even eaten some shark. Be that as it may, the Lord forgive our worthy Captain for the meat, the salt fish, and other horrible things with which he poisoned us, regularly twice a day, notwithstanding the enormous sum which he had taken for our passage, and for which he had promised us good fare, and excellent accommodation. But a mere tub, a complete dunghill, four or five large loaves, and a few dozens of old fowls, formed the sum total of his magnificence! Such is the

good faith of a privateer. God preserve from it all those that may succeed me!"

In a state of loneliness, such as that in which we found ourselves, the mind is the more easily prepared for every impression; and it was a source of real happiness and joy to us, as we now advanced in our voyage, to perceive a star belonging to our native hemisphere; to observe once more all our constellations of Europe. Every evening, under the beautiful clear sky, I gave instructions to my son in astronomy; in the day he made nautical observations with the Captain, who compensated for the privation of those bodily delicacies, respecting which he had so much deceived us, by feeding our mind with long and frequent lectures, a task of which he acquitted himself admirably.

At the expiration of a month, 20th September, we at last got into our northern hemisphere again, by crossing the line almost at the same time as the sun, which was going down towards the south on our larboard tack. We were very fortunate in our navigation in the immediate vicinity north of the equator, where calms or storms are invariably met with. In those regions, the excessive heat of the equator, and that produced by the sands of Africa, combine to torment and depress nature, who expresses her lassitude by continued calms, or is roused by torrents of rain and terrible claps of thunder.

In twenty-five days after, we passed the second tropic, and reached the boundaries of the variable winds of our regions.

We had left the Cape in winter, and after having crossed the torrid zone, we again found winter at the gates of Europe: thus tempests were stationed at the two extremities of our navigation. We had fortunately escaped the tempests of the departure; but we had still to expect those of the arrival: these we found at their post, and furious they turned out to be.

At the end of about twenty days of light and variable winds, we arrived off the Azores. Our voyage had been already extremely long. It is not without example that the passage from the Cape to England has been performed in thirty days;—the average perhaps is fifty days. We had now been eighty days at sea, and our troubles were only about to begin. When in sight of the Azores, our tribulation, and what we called our *passion week*, commenced.

On the 1st of November we experienced our first gale; a moderate one, it is true, to begin with, as it were, and set us agoing.

On the 2d November, we had a calm to give us breath. On the 3d, came a second gale, still tolerable; but during the night, which was one of the darkest imaginable, a third gale sprang up, and this time, it amounted to an absolute hurricane. The wind suddenly chopped round, from aft to fore,

with a dreadful noise; and blowing furiously, it took, sideways, the few sails we had set, and in one instant, with the rapidity of thought, the ship was thrown on her beam ends, and the sea reached nearly to the foot of the masts. A great number of the casks belonging to the cargo were upset, and by their weight increased the heeling of the ship, already so dangerous. Fortunately, the wind carried away the sails, which were let loose, or we should have capsized. We all thought ourselves lost, and we must have been drowned, but fate had ordered it otherwise, our hour was not yet come; we were fortunate enough to keep afloat. It was owing to an accident of the same kind, and in nearly the same latitude, that the Ville de Paris and four other seventy-four gun ships, were lost in the year 1782. Our Captain and his Mate, who had been twenty years at sea, assured us that they had never experienced a gale of such violence before. One more violent, they said, could not be; the sea was white and luminous as far as the eye could reach. This gale, which raged for three hours with violence, lasted the whole of the 4th and part of the following day. On the 5th, towards evening, the weather was tolerable; but this was only a kind of respite. On the 6th, we had a fourth gale, which blew violently during the whole day. In the night, it kept on increasing; we were obliged to run before the wind; the sea ran mountains high, and constantly washed over

our deck, so that they were obliged to close up the entrance through which we went down into the cabin, and thus we remained shut up below, having no other light than that afforded by a dismal lamp: it was like the cavern of Neptune, and threatened to become soon that of Pluto. We were, literally speaking, under water, the waves closing above our heads.

Such a state of things lasted the whole of Friday, the 7th. Suffering from sea sickness, I had not stirred from my hammock for a long while; but at about four o'clock, I took advantage of a more calm moment, to drag myself to the issue of our wretched cabin, to examine the aspect of our situation. The spectacle was truly grand, sublime, awful, terrible. The vast ocean, surmounted by a sky red with fury, covered with innumerable roaring mountains, and furrowed with deep valleys and fathomless abysses, formed a sight which filled me with an awful feeling of terror. Our little boat glided with admirable rapidity between two moving mountains, the extremities of which often met on our deck, threatening every moment to unite there together for our final destruction, whilst behind us huge rolling billows, similar to the fantastic monsters of fabulous history, pursued us with unrelenting ardour, raising their hideous heads above our stern, as if to contemplate and rush upon their prey, which continually escaped from them, not, however, without their carrying away, here and there, some pieces of wood from

our upper works. This situation was one of imminent danger; few words were exchanged between us; we looked at each other in silence; and let events take their course. It is certain, that a false movement at the helm, or the slightest act of inattention or neglect, would have been sufficient to cause us to be instantly swallowed up. Had we been caught by one of these terrible waves astern of us, its weight would have borne down every thing before it, and that indeed was our greatest peril. We were more than once threatened with seeing our cabin stove in; the waves struck over our heads, with a noise like the detonation of a cannon. We observed them, with terror, gaining ground upon us; and we devoted a great part of the dreadful night that followed, to secure and fortify ourselves against them.

My son, who could neither go to bed nor sleep, frequently went upon deck to see how things were going on, and then came back to me, who was lying sick in my hammock. Not knowing what to do during that long and cruel night, to divert our minds from the contemplation of our situation, and beguile time away if possible, I endeavoured a moment to dictate something to my son; it was a passage of ancient history. But presently, a wave having stove in some part of the works above, came and inundated my hammock, and the paper on which my son was writing. We thought ourselves at our last moment; my son took hold of my hand, and exclaimed, in ra-

ther a jocular tone, "At least we shall go down "in good company, with our Greeks and Romans." It is certain, to mention it incidentally, that my son behaved, during our truly alarming situation, in a way to afford me more than satisfaction. He considered it with calmness, followed its progress with a degree of curiosity, and conversed with entire freedom on the subject. And mark the effect of merely a few months upon our machine! mark the influence of our bodily strength over the nature of our sensations! It was in this dreadful situation, and with all the calmness, of which he was giving proofs, that he related to me, that during our voyage to St. Helena, on board the Northumberland, not more than one or two years ago, he had passed several sleepless nights in his bed, and very unhappy, from the fear of being drowned during his sleep. How weak and fearful then, when there was not even an appearance of danger; and how firm and undaunted now, when death might be looked upon as certain! . . . His deportment at this moment even provoked our Captain, who called it scandalous. This said Captain, whom we had thought a very expert seaman, but who, upon trial, proved to be any thing but that, had, in the moment of greatest danger, given up the management of every thing to his Mate, and remained lying on his bed totally discouraged, probably thinking of his sins, perhaps of the manner in which he had deceived us; for the devotion

and scruples of sailors, at the hour of peril, are well known. Be that as it may, this Captain collected strength to remonstrate with my son on the impropriety, as he called it, of his having expressed himself with a tone of levity, and of his daring to hum a tune at the very moment. This, said he, in the situation in which we are placed, is calculated to offend God; adding, that his youth and inexperience alone could have concealed from him the danger in which we had been, every minute for the last eight days, of being lost: and here he spoke the truth.

However, all that has been read, did not yet form the complement of our danger, nor the extent of our fears. The tempest still lasted, and seemed even to go on increasing; at last, on Saturday the 8th, towards morning, the man who was at the helm, as being the most dexterous and the most intrepid of the crew, declared that he would no longer take charge of it; he began to feel giddy, he said, and he feared lest some error on his part should prove fatal to all. We were then obliged to have recourse to our last resource, that of *lying to*, that is, to place the ship athwart against the wind; a most ticklish manœuvre in the desperate situation in which we were placed, because we ran the risk of going down in the attempt to execute it. But Providence still favoured us; by the greatest good fortune possible, we succeeded, and a shout of joy and gratitude from the

whole of the crew above, imparted to us below the welcome news. We considered ourselves most fortunate, although the difference between the two situations was chiefly this, that whereas before we ran the risk of foundering, by being taken by the sea aft; we now had the chance of foundering, by the sea taking us on the beam. Yet it must be admitted that we were no sooner in this position, than the ship appeared, compared with what we had experienced before, as if she had got into harbour. For my part, I had seen with regret, the determination to change our course, because we thus retarded our progress towards the cessation of our miseries; but feeling myself now a little relieved, nothing in the world could have induced me to place myself again in the situation we had just escaped from. The reason of this is, that in a desperate condition, like that in which we had been placed during so many hours, men may make up their minds to it; but as soon as confidence has been restored, it is most painful to be obliged to resign one's self again.

This violent gale had now lasted three days, and our week was going on towards its completion. I placed great reliance upon the Sunday which was about to begin, not only on account of the moon, but also because Sunday had happened to be peculiarly marked by something favourable to us ever since our departure. Nor were our hopes deceived, for in the course of

the night from Saturday to Sunday, the weather became tolerably moderate, and when daylight appeared we were enabled once more to pursue our course. It is certain, that from a strange combination of circumstances, the Sundays had always been marked by some fortunate events, since our departure from the Cape. It was on a Sunday that we had passed the southern tropic, and fallen in with the trade winds; on a Sunday we had seen St. Helena; on a Sunday we had passed the Island of Ascension; on a Sunday we had crossed the line; on a Sunday we had passed the second tropic; on a Sunday we had arrived at the latitude of Gibraltar, the first point of Europe; lastly, it was on a Sunday that we had arrived at the latitude of Bayonne and Bordeaux, the beginning of our dear France; and it was on a Sunday again that we were at this moment ending that terrible week, off Brest. We might fairly reckon henceforward, we said, upon some fine weather; we thought we had sufficiently paid our tribute; we hoped that we had exhausted the fury of the wind: the plummet brought up European clay; and we only thought of an agreeable termination of our voyage. But vain calculation! our lucky Sunday being over, we had to encounter a fifth gale. We were now beginning to enter the channel without, however, having yet seen land, by which means our true position was unknown to us. Prudence required us to stand out to sea, but

fortunately it was not for a long time; and having resumed our course, we at last came within sight of the Lizard Point; but we seemed doomed not to have twenty-four hours of comfort. We had no sooner got there than a thick fog arose, and a sixth gale sprung up under the most inauspicious appearances. It blew from the south, and therefore threatened to drive us ashore: we were now in the channel and without shelter; on one side we had the Lizard, and on the other the Scilly isles, which are extremely dangerous; there was a very heavy sea: we did not know precisely where we were; night was coming on, and a night of fourteen hours! How many causes of uneasiness! What a state of perplexity both for the mind and for a calculation of the chances! We were all completely downcast and disheartened; when a shower of rain, accompanied by thunder, although it was then in the middle of November and the weather was very cold, came to break the spell. The wind suddenly veered to the proper quarter, and this time it put an end to all our difficulties by bringing us into the Downs, where we anchored. Happy and ten times happy to have escaped dangers so formidable and so numerous! At a later period, when reading the English papers in Germany, we found every day a relation of great disasters having occurred precisely at the same period and in the same latitudes. One vessel had been upset, another had foundered, another had

been seen floating on her side without masts, and without a living soul on board, another had been wrecked in coming into port, and crew and all lost. The season was quoted as one of the most disastrous; innumerable accidents had taken place; and it would be necessary to have been exposed to such accidents, as we had been, to appreciate the feelings of sympathy which were excited in our breasts by such recitals, and the fervent effusions of gratitude towards Providence to which they invariably gave rise.

VOYAGE FROM THE THAMES TO FRANKFORT.

An Interval of Twenty Days.

FROM NOVEMBER 16 TO DECEMBER 11.

I am not allowed to remain in England. — Removal to Ostend.—Persecutions in Belgium, Prussia, &c.—Agreeable Compensations.—Arrival at Frankfort.

On the preceding evening we had anchored in the Downs, merely for that night; the next morning, at daybreak, we set sail for the Thames, London being our place of destination. It now appeared as if no occurrence could henceforth keep

me from that city, and I was already calculating the hour of arrival. All my hopes might at last be realized; my confidence was returning; but how greatly was I mistaken!

Arrived at Gravesend, where a vessel is stationed for the special purpose of superintendence over foreigners, I no sooner gave my name than an agent of government informed me that I could not proceed any further, and that I must follow him immediately, with my luggage, on board of the *alien ship*. In vain I remonstrated, and represented to him that, with my passport, I was in strict conformity with the regulations: that very document it was that condemned me. I have been since informed that a similar measure had been ordered against me in every port of England, long before my arrival.

I was no sooner on board the alien ship, than seals were placed upon my papers, and I was apprized that I must wait for final orders from Government. I had written to Lord Bathurst the very instant of our anchoring in the Downs; I now wrote to him again. I was ignorant of his intentions towards me; but it seemed to me impossible that he should not eagerly summon me before him; and, above all things, it could not enter into my mind that he would neglect to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity for hearing a counter-statement of all that had taken place at

St. Helena. It will be seen, however, that I was mistaken in my suppositions.

With the exception of being kept in confinement, every mark of attention was shewn to me on board of the Alien ship. The Captain, who had had very little to do since the peace, and who never made his appearance but in the daytime, gave me his own bed to sleep in.

Harassed by these fresh vexations, suffering from my habitual complaints, and wearied of my new prison, I had gone to bed at an early hour, when I was awaked on a sudden, in the silence of night, by a shrill voice. "Count, Count," cried some one who was seeking for me in every corner, and who in his hurry had not even waited to procure a light, "*It is the Prince Regent's pleasure* "that you instantly quit Great Britain." In the confusion of my broken sleep I chanced to reply, "Assuredly this is a very sorry and silly pleasure "for His Royal Highness; but you, Sir, who are "you?" He then told me that he was a state, or ministerial messenger. I requested he would go and wait until I should be ready, and I tried in vain to complete my night's rest. At daybreak my son and I were made to step into a boat, landed with mystery, thrust into a post-chaise, and conducted by the shortest road to Dover, where my guide informed me that he had orders to see me on board of the packet for Calais or Ostend,

whichever I preferred, as I was not allowed to fix my choice upon any other port.

It happened, from some cause or other, that we could not sail immediately from Dover, and I was told that there might be a delay of two or three days. We were shut up in an inn, where my guard, under the specious pretence of consulting my convenience, practised upon me the meanest of all contrivances. If complaints are made on the Continent of disgraceful proceedings on the part of police agents, it must be admitted that the man we had now to deal with might well rival those of any other country.

Having happened to say that it was a pity my papers had been sealed up, as otherwise I might have taken advantage of my stay, in order to write a few letters, he immediately protested against the hardship of my being deprived of what he called a most innocent and a most natural satisfaction; and directly went himself to break the seals, and gave me up all my papers, recommending me to do all in my power to alleviate the unpleasantness of my present situation, of which he was the unwilling instrument. Will it be believed, this was nothing more than a snare laid for me, in order that he might afterwards have the pleasure of seizing upon whatever I might have written, under the delusion of a feeling of confidence he thus excited! During the time we were together, this man had been remarkable for his officiousness

towards us, coupled, it is true, with a thousand impertinent expressions, which sufficiently evinced all his baseness. He told me, for instance, that he and his fellows in the same situation, considered it their duty to know no other law than the *pleasure* of the Prince; he spoke of *his master*, Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary for the Home Department; of *his master* who had preceded Lord Sidmouth, and so on; and as I observed in joke, that I had thought that he belonged to the Administration, and not to the Minister, he replied, with the utmost candour, that I was mistaken; that he belonged to the Minister, as it was the Minister who gave him his salary, and who might take it away at his pleasure. He added much other nonsense of the same kind, which savoured much more of the negro slave of Jamaica than of a white of Europe, and of a citizen of Great Britain; this, however, would have been a matter of perfect indifference to me, had not his ignoble principles been put in practice upon me, as the sequel will shew.

At the very moment of our departure, and when I was on the point of starting, this man, until then so complaisant and so officious, told me, in rather an insolent manner, that he had a trifling formality to fulfil towards me; and, seizing upon all my luggage, he searched most minutely amongst my linen and clothes, took possession of all my papers, without the least ceremony, and

even refused to give me any kind of inventory of them. I complained aloud; I called for the protection of the Magistrates; I demanded that my protest, at least, should be received; I was answered that, in the situation in which I was placed, and being a foreigner, the benefit of the laws which I invoked could not be extended to me; and in this manner I was obliged to quit England, leaving, however, behind me, the following letter for Lord Sidmouth:—

"My Lord,—It is with feelings of the deepest regret, that I do myself the honour of addressing your Lordship, aware that your reply, which might perhaps gratify the object of my wishes, will reach me too late.

"For the last four days I have been in the power of your messenger; who, upon his arrival, has removed the seals which had been put upon my papers, saying that he again placed them at my disposal. He has since seen me write, has even encouraged me to do so, and has waited for the moment of my departure, to take possession, in your name, of every one of my papers. This is a snare, my Lord, which my heart forbids me to attribute to a higher quarter than the individual who has practised it. That messenger understood no language but English; he called another person to his aid, who pretended to understand a little French, and who has thought proper to peruse my papers, one after another, and even to

detain them all. There was enough for a whole week's reading, and I did not imagine that any individual could have such a right over me.

"Every thing has been taken from me, letters, notes, my son's exercises, title deeds, family secrets, official documents from Sir Hudson Lowe and Lord Charles Somerset, my daily memoranda, even a letter to the French Minister of Police, and another to my wife, which I had prepared during my leisure moments here, in order that I might forward them on my landing at Ostend. They have been taken without allowing an inventory or register to be made of them. Such, they said, was your Lordship's order. In the first burst of indignation, I have protested against this violence, and demanded that a Magistrate might receive my complaint. I shall not record here the reply that has been given to me. Recovered from the first moment of surprise, and dreading nothing so much as to see my name mentioned in public discussions; considering also how impossible it was that your Lordship should have ordered so great a deviation from the rules of every acknowledged system of jurisprudence, according to which governments are required, in cases like the present, to take such measures as will enable them to guard against the possibility of being accused of having withdrawn or superadded any document; I contented myself with urging and most earnestly entreating the mes-

senger who had my fate in his hands, to allow of my departure being retarded until I had been able to write to your Lordship, and until he had himself received a confirmation of his rigorous orders. But this man, who had already caused a delay of three days upon slight pretences, shewed himself quite inflexible on the present important occasion. In vain I represented to him that I had no objection to shew all my papers to the confidential persons whom your Lordship might have appointed to see them; but, that it was even for your Lordship's interest that certain formalities should be observed towards me; that in the examination of my papers, my presence would be useful, if not absolutely necessary, in order to explain many things that could not be understood without me; whereas, he was sending me to the Continent, and forwarding my papers to London; that no doubt there was some mistake, which twenty-four hours' time would clear up. I was coolly told, in reply, that I need not be uneasy about returning from the Continent, if that was thought necessary, as your Lordship would defray all the expense of the voyage. My Lord, in what hands have you placed me? On another occasion, in which this man could surely not have consulted your wishes, I found myself compelled to silence my guard, in consequence of the gross and injurious expressions which he used concerning the

illustrious personage whom I respect above all others in this world.

"In short, my Lord, since I have reached your shores, I have been treated as a malefactor; and yet, where is my crime? A difference of political opinion, perhaps, and a voluntary imprisonment at Longwood! But is not the latter act one of the most noble and most generous; one so highly honourable, that the man does not exist who, at the bottom of his heart, would not be proud of having set the example of it? My Lord, the mildness of disposition and love of justice which are said to distinguish your Lordship, cannot, I am confident of it, have authorized all that has been done to me. Having been allowed to affix my seal to the papers that have been taken away from me, I have hastened to do so, not as a precaution against your Lordship, but on the contrary, to remedy, in your own interest, the want of formality of which your agents may have been guilty.

"I entreat your Lordship to reconsider my case, and not to form an opinion upon my papers, without having first received from me the explanations you may require; and which I shall ever be most ready to afford. I affirm beforehand, that whatever difference of opinion and feeling may be found in them, there is not one that will not bear the test of a judicial investigation, or of a friendly discussion. They contain nothing possessing any

degree of interest in state matters, and no political secrets. I never possessed any documents of that description, and if I had, opportunities would not have been wanting to have put them out of the way long ere this.

"It would perhaps be the moment to speak also to your Lordship, about the papers which have been taken from me at St. Helena, as well as respecting many other subjects to which I shall have to refer, either with your Lordship or Lord Bathurst; but the short space of time that I am allowed, and the confusion of ideas produced by circumstances so sudden and unforeseen, oblige me to defer doing so, to some future period.

"I shall anxiously await the answer, which your Lordship may be pleased to give me; but where I know not; most probably at Brussels, if I am allowed to remain there.

"I have the honour," &c.

I was put on board of a packet, and we sailed for Ostend; and, as I have now and then taken the liberty to speak of physical sufferings, I shall be forgiven, if, in order to afford a more correct idea of what I must have suffered during my long passage, I observe here, that notwithstanding the hundred days which I had just passed at sea, I still happened to be sick again on board of this packet, although the weather was not absolutely bad. This was undoubtedly very ridiculous, but no less true.

The next day I got to Ostend, and landed without any observation having been made to me by any person. I again thought that this time my misfortunes were at an end, and that I had recovered my liberty; but I was again mistaken; persecutions of another kind were, on the contrary, going to begin: however, I had every reason to be satisfied with the first moments of my residence.

I had not been long at the inn before an agent of the local authorities came and told me, without my being able to guess how I had been already found out, that he had received orders to watch over me, and that he had immediately come to ask me in what manner I wished that he should fulfil his instructions.

I had not been accustomed to such polite manner for a length of time, and I made this observation to him; adding, that the step he had taken was quite sufficient to induce me to resign myself with entire confidence to whatever he might wish to do with me; and as his politeness had led to a prolongation of the conversation between us, which seemed greatly to excite his curiosity, he soon told me that he was going to put a question to me which was indiscreet, no doubt, and perhaps improper; but that he could not resist his desire of being informed, whether it was true that I had left Napoleon because he was so much soured by misfortune, that it was impossible to live with him; for the English ministerial papers had circu-

lated a thousand reports respecting me, one more ridiculous than the other. I replied to him with a smile, "Sir, if I had any thing to say against "Napoleon, if I had the least subject of complaint "to adduce against him, be assured that you would "not have to guard me at this moment, and that "I should be far from being ill treated any where." Upon which he exclaimed in his turn, striking his forehead, that such was the answer that ought to have suggested itself to his mind. His attentions towards me after this explanation, became still more marked; and having learnt from me that it was my intention to go to Brussels, he imposed no other condition to the uncontrolled liberty which he left me, than that of not taking my departure without informing him of it, assuring me at the same time, that a determination respecting me could not be delayed twenty-four hours longer, as a courier had been despatched to the Governor of the province, whose return would, in all probability set me entirely at liberty.

I took advantage of the delay to which I was thus obliged to submit, to write to the Ministers of the Police of France and of the Netherlands, respectively, concerning the situation in which I was henceforth to be placed.

To the French Minister I wrote in the following manner.

"Sir,—I think it right, on landing on the Continent, to inform your Excellency of the circum-

stances in which I am placed; and I trust that you will approve the motives that induce me to do so.

"A year ago, I was suddenly removed from Longwood, and have been, since that period, carried from shore to shore like a captive. On entering the Thames, I received an order to depart instantly to the Continent, having no other choice allowed to me but to proceed either to Calais or Ostend.

"A feeling of delicacy and prudence has prompted me to prefer Ostend.

"France is, of all countries, that where my appearance is most likely to be watched, and I have wished to save the department over which you preside, and myself, from the inconveniencies attending such a measure. This double consideration has induced me to adopt the cruel resolution of self-banishment. I have also been actuated by another motive, viz. the hope of possessing in this country greater facilities (setting aside all political views, influenced only by private and personal feelings of affection), to procure through the legal channel allowed by the English regulations, and even under the cover of the British Ministers, some alleviation and innocent consolations to the martyrs of Longwood. In France, this pious and sacred care might have been misinterpreted, and might consequently have given rise to impediments.

"I hope that a statement so open and candid will remove all unfavourable impressions that might have been suggested to your mind by the circumstances of my case; and in furtherance of that object, I now take the liberty of enclosing under your cover, an unsealed letter for my wife, in whose favour I request the interposition of your kindness, in any thing relating to your functions, that may facilitate the means of her coming to share my voluntary exile. Receive," &c. &c.

To the Minister of the Netherlands I wrote, That it is usual to endeavour to escape from being rendered subject to superintendence; but that I, on the contrary, came to request to be placed under his. I repeated to him, as in the preceding letter, what had happened to me in the Thames, and that I had been thrown on the Continent without any motive having been adduced, or any cause assigned for this measure.

I informed him that I had just written to the Minister of the Police of France, to lay before him the motives that induced me to expose myself to voluntary exile. I represented to him that I was very ill, and that the state of my son's health was most alarming; that I had just made a passage of a hundred days' duration in a very small vessel —that I was entirely ignorant as to whether my wife and family were still in existence—that I was totally in the dark respecting the state of my

domestic concerns; and taking all these circumstances into consideration, I entreated him to allow me to reside for a few days at Brussels, to breathe and look around me, to send for my wife, and have the benefit of the attendance of a physician; adding, that perhaps in the mean time, the British Ministers, whose harsh and precipitate conduct towards me must necessarily have been founded on some error, would consent to allow me to be present, agreeably to my request, at the examination of the papers which they had taken from me.

In conclusion, I assured him that I entertained no political views or feelings, that my sentiments were solely sentiments of individual affection and personal attachment; that such sentiments were natural and honourable, and that my open avowal of them must afford a perfect security; that they were not calculated to give any cause of uneasiness.

I owe it to justice and to gratitude to state, that my letter to the Minister of the Police of France had at least the effect of obtaining from him, when occasions offered, all that might be expected from a gentleman.

Such was not the case with respect to the Minister of the Netherlands; the only answer I received from him was the arrival of guards to secure my person. Orders were sent in every direction to

find me out again, for they thought I was lost. As I had been told by the person intrusted with the superintendence over me, the permission from the Governor to continue my journey had soon arrived, and I had immediately taken advantage of it; choosing, on account of the weak state of my health, the easy but obscure and slow conveyance of the barges and canals. This had not been thought of; and they were seeking for me at a great distance from Ostend, whilst I was still almost at its gates. My unsuspecting confidence and security had baffled all their calculations; they had not yet got the exact description of my person, and were consequently much embarrassed to know me; however, I myself soon put an end to their perplexity by coming and delivering myself up, as the saying is, to the wolf's jaws.

My first step, after my arrival at Brussels, which I reached late in the evening, after a journey of three days, was to send to inform the police of my being in that city, and ask what had been the determination of the Minister relative to my case, in consequence of the letter which I had addressed to him from Ostend. The generous answer to my innocent confidence, was to send instantly to surround the inn where I was, and they waited with impatience the first dawn of day to signify to me that I must leave the kingdom of the Netherlands without the least delay. I was very much indisposed, and had some degree of fever about me;

nevertheless, I vainly appealed to their compassion, and asked to be allowed to stay one day longer.

Very serious obstacles must certainly have existed to my being permitted to sojourn in Brussels, or a predisposition to treat me with cruelty, for I was not allowed even one hour. They placed me in a carriage between a police officer and a *gendarme,* and turned me on the high road. These people, who saw my condition, took compassion upon me, and after a few hours' journey consented to stop, in order that I might procure a little rest and some requisite medical attendance; but under the express condition that I should resume my journey at an early hour on the following morning, in charge of the guards appointed to succeed them; a system that was strictly acted upon and repeated in every town, notwithstanding the repeated observations and the testimony of all medical men. This cruel treatment compelled me to complain to the French Ambassador at the court of the Netherlands, who I thought would warmly resist such a proceeding; for it was an insult to his public character, to treat in this manner, without any just motive, and in direct violation of the laws, a Frenchman who was placed under his protection.

I therefore informed him of the vexatious and inhuman conduct which was then exercised towards me.

I told him, " that upon landing at Ostend I had " written to the French Minister of Police, to state " to him my motives for remaining out of France; " that I had also written at the same time to the " Minister of the Police of the Netherlands, re- " questing he would allow me to sojourn a short " time in Brussels, and that having reached that " city at a late hour without having been guarded " or placed under any superintendence, I had has- " tened to inform his Excellency of my arrival; " but that I had been suddenly awaked before day- " light on the following morning, and surrounded " by four police officers and two *gendarmes*, who " signified to me that I must instantly depart, not- " withstanding the very precarious state of my " health; that I had in vain demanded a physician " to verify my case; that I had been told that I " should be allowed one for form's sake, but that " I must depart, whatever might be his opinion; " that in fact I had been removed to Louvain like " a malefactor, and in the last stage of sickness, " under the escort of a *gendarme* and of a police " officer; that having arrived in this town during " the night, suffering from increased illness, cover- " ed with blisters, and in a state of fever, I had " asked to be allowed to stop the following day; " that the Burgomaster had been inhuman enough " to refuse my request, in spite of two or three " very strong medical certificates; that having " demanded that the physician at least might ac-

" company me in the carriage, instead of the *gen-*
" *darme,* who could follow on horseback, this
" favour had also been refused to me; that all that
" could be allowed, they said, was that the phy-
" sician should accompany me in another car-
" riage. This was, no doubt, a piece of irony."

I added, " that I was quite certain that such
" treatment could not proceed from him, who
" alone, however, on this occasion, would have a
" right to exercise any influence over my fate;
" that I was too well acquainted with the senti-
" ments of the nation to which we belonged, to
" suppose for a moment that his instructions could
" decree the proscription of a person towards whom
" there neither was, nor could be any law or mo-
" tive for such a proceeding; that the ill usage I
" experienced could therefore only proceed from
" the authorities of this country, where however,
" in common justice, I ought not to be considered
" in any other light than as a traveller; that as
" such I would demand of them what was my
" crime, and what were their rights over my per-
" son." And I ended, by placing my interests under his care, as his situation made him their natural protector; and with the view of calling his attention more particularly upon me, I gave him news of Madame Bertrand, his wife's sister, which I had received just as I was leaving Dover, and I offered myself, in case Madame de Latour Dupin wished to say any thing to her sister, to whom it

would afford the greatest pleasure, to take charge of it, as I proposed to write to Madame Bertrand regularly once a month, by the channel which the English regulations allowed, viz., under the very cover of Ministers.

His Excellency made no reply to this letter; his endeavours, no doubt, proved unavailing; the impulse, the very orders, perhaps, emanated at this time from the other side of the water.

I continued in this manner, without intermission, transferred from town to town, from one police officer to another, from *gendarme* to *gendarme*, across the whole kingdom of the Netherlands; and when I occasionally asked, in the height of my sufferings, what could be the motive for so harsh a treatment? I was simply told, in reply, that such were the orders that had been given; and, in fact, this was all that appeared to be known on the subject. Arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the Prussian territory, I was there exchanged by the agents of the Netherlands for a receipt, as might have been done with a bale of goods; and the Prussians, in their turn, hurried me along with equal rapidity from place to place, from officer to officer, and from one *gendarme* to another; and, when I inquired of them also the motive of all this, they candidly answered that they did not know it; but that I had been thrown into their country, and that they were going to throw me out of it. If I asked to stop, they politely replied

that they would not keep me upon their territory; and some friends, for it will hereafter be seen that I found friends every where, whispered in my ear, that I ought to thank God for it, and, above all things, to take immediate advantage of this piece of good fortune, as some exiled Frenchmen had lately been forced to the shores of the Baltic, and shut up in fortresses. I then declared that I desired to go to Frankfort, an expression which appeared to give pleasure to my hosts, the Prussians, as they said it would no longer concern them. After what I had just learnt, I was equally rejoiced at this upon my own account.

After having described, but very feebly, all the savage brutality that had just been exercised upon me, all the vexations and sufferings that I had endured, it would be unjust and ungrateful in me, and I should be depriving myself of the most gratifying sensation, were I to omit mentioning the kind of compensation which I found at every step of my journey.

My story had made a great noise; it had spread in every direction; it preceded me; the public papers had laid hold of it. It was known whom I had served, to whom I had wished to devote my care, for whom I suffered; and all endeavoured to mark their sense of my conduct. All classes were eager to evince every mark of attention and sympathy towards me; and open demonstrations, or secret offers, awaited me every where. It was

then that those words of Napoleon occurred to my mind, which I have, by the way, had many subsequent occasions to recall to my recollection: "My dear friends, when you shall have returned "to Europe, you will find that, from this spot, I "still bestow crowns." And can there be a nobler, a more precious one, than the esteem, the affection, the sympathy of those even who know you not, and have never seen you? What hand, however powerful, can bestow any thing of equal value? These feelings manifested themselves at inns, upon the high roads, every where. Postboys, *gendarmes*, all that I met with on my journey, addressed me with a kind of pride and exultation: one said, "I belonged to the Imperial Guard;" another, "I was a French *gendarme*;" a third, "I have "been a soldier under Napoleon." These recollections, and the feelings of good will to which they gave rise, appeared in all classes and conditions. Twice, in Belgium, I was offered to be carried off, every thing having been, I was informed, carefully prepared beforehand; the same offer had already been made to me at the Cape, by an American Captain; and a similar proposal was made to me at a later period, on the part of some Englishmen, to whom I was quite unknown, and who had resolved to come from London in order to carry me off from Frankfort, where they thought me in a much worse situation than I really was. But

I invariably replied—"What purpose would that "answer? Why should I injure so noble a cause?"

The very agents of authority felt an anxiety concerning my fate, and a kind of interest for me. One of them, although appointed to watch me, offered to take charge of any paper I would venture to intrust to his care; I availed myself of his offer, as I did not see any inconvenience in so doing, even if he had some bad intention, as he might possibly have, and I addressed, to a person of high rank in England, a letter of half a dozen lines, describing with warmth the ill usage which the British Ministers had made me suffer for the last twelve months, and requesting that he would publish my statement, if he saw no objection to it. I enclosed, with the same view, that part of the Emperor's letter which I had been allowed to copy, adding that I should have continued to keep it to myself, had not the ridiculous and insulting reports which were inserted in the newspapers, rendered it imperative upon me to make it public. I, however, left to his discretion to decide what should be done.

How great was my surprise to see the whole published in the Belgic papers two days afterwards! I was extremely mortified at it; it was not at all consistent with my disposition to wish to make so much noise. I was, above all, especially hurt that the person in England to whom I addressed my letter, and to whom I was unknown,

should receive it only through the public press: this mode of proceeding was also totally inconsistent with my manners. I was at a loss to conceive how the thing could have happened. I have since learnt that my confidant, in the warmth of his zeal, had consulted with two or three persons of the same way of thinking, and that the papers having been read in their little council, they had decided that, instead of losing time in sending them to England, where, perhaps, no use would be made of them, it would be better to publish them instantly upon the spot, where indeed they created a very lively sensation. Notwithstanding the trouble that I then suffered from them, they proved, in the event, of the most signal advantage to me.

In short, there would be no end to it, were I to mention the affecting marks of attention that were shewn to me; the offers of all kinds, in money, clothes, &c. &c.; even people of the very lowest class were eager to tender their mite. One of them, forcing his way into my apartment, from which he was pulled back by the *gendarmes*, cried out to me that he had only two coats; that he saw, by my size, that the second would not fit me; that he was therefore going to sell it, and would throw me the amount through the window. What sufferings, what torments would not be effaced by the sensations which such acts must produce?

I was, however, so ill on arriving at Cologne,

that it was found necessary to allow me to stop twenty-four hours in that town. This increase of suffering turned out a fortunate circumstance for me. I was in a gentle sleep, when, on a sudden, the *valet de place* rushed into my apartment with demonstrations of that joy which the bearer of good news is sure to occasion and even to experience, and announced to me Madame de Las Cases. I had not yet been able to ascertain whether she was alive, and therefore thought that I had misunderstood the man, or was dreaming; but, in a moment after, the door was thrown open—it was she herself! The poor dear woman, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, had been running after me a considerable time, through rain and snow, without being able to overtake me. As soon as she had learnt, through the medium of the newspapers, my arrival in Europe and my removal to Ostend, she had started immediately for the latter place, and it was only at the entrance of that town that she had heard I had already left it. She had since been following me, tracing my steps by the persecutions and vexations to which I was exposed, and which every one related to her as she proceeded, even the common passengers on the road, or which she read every morning in the newspapers; and herself receiving also, every where and from every one, those expressions of interest and benevolence, those marks of attention and zeal, of which it will be seen that I had been the

object. Thus, for many days, she was exposed to the most tantalizing vexation of being always within a few hours' distance from me, without being able to overtake me, and, but for this accidental delay at Cologne, she would not have succeeded even now.

RESIDENCE IN GERMANY.

FROM THE TIME OF MY ARRIVAL AT FRANKFORT TO THE PERIOD OF MY RESIDENCE AT OFFENBACH.

A Space of Fifteen Months.

Residence at Frankfort.—My Endeavours to alleviate the Situation of the Inhabitants of Longwood.—Letters to Maria Louisa and to the Allied Sovereigns.—My Letter to Lord Bathurst.—Petition to the British Parliament.—Transactions with several Members of the Emperor's Family.—Measures to supply the Wants of Longwood; Details, &c.—Journey to Baden.—Residence at Manheim; Motives for this choice.—Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; my Efforts; Details.—Letter from Madame the Emperor's Mother, &c.—Note to the Sovereigns.—New Official Documents received from Longwood, and addressed to the Sovereigns; new Efforts; &c.—State of Public Opinion.—Arrival of the brig Musquito.—Fresh Vexation; the Minister of Baden causes me to leave Manheim.—I retire to Offenbach.

The band of captives arrived at last at Frankfort, after having, during fifteen days, undergone perse-

cutions almost unexampled in civilized countries, and in a state of tranquillity. A Prussian officer, whose duty, he politely said, was not so much to guard me as to see that I was well treated, had conducted me thither. He did not allow me to communicate freely with any person, and was not to leave me until some authentic and final decision had been adopted with respect to me.

On arriving at Frankfort, I immediately sent to our Ambassador, as I had done in the Netherlands, the following letter:

"Sir,—I have the honour, on arriving in this town, to claim the protection of your public character, against the rigorous measures which have been adopted against me for some time past.

"I have been arrested, and am carried about from town to town, under escort, against my will, like a captive. Those who act thus, candidly confess that they only push me on in that manner, because I have been so brought to them; and they have not any special motive or positive order on the subject. On my passage through the Netherlands, I have addressed a representation on the subject to our ambassador at the Court of the Hague; but I have been hurried on so precipitately, that it has not been possible for me to receive any answer. I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the letter which I addressed to him, in order to put your Excellency in possession of the first details of my adventure.

"It is now, Sir, the hundred and thirtieth day of my travelling; I am harassed, tired, sick, and infirm; I have been tossed by the fury of the waves, and must perish at last if I cannot find a port. In the name of humanity and justice, I implore to be allowed to take breath for a moment. I have found an erroneous impression existing every where in my way: and those who thus

disposed of my person have all expressed the greatest surprise, when the discussion of the point has proved that there did not exist in France any law or act, either public or private, directed against me; and that nothing had ever occurred that could give rise to such a proceeding. I request, Sir, that you will be kind enough to prevent, by your testimony, the possibility of an error that might influence the decision to be taken with respect to me; and that you will grant me that protection which I am naturally entitled to expect from you in your public character.

"I have the honour," &c.

"P. S. I think it right to inform your Excellency that, in the perplexity of my situation, I wrote a few days since to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, to request an asylum in his dominions, should my liberty be placed under any restraint. But a distant country, the language and manners of which are quite new to me, cannot suit me, except in case of necessity. I should wish to be as near to France as possible, in order to be able to see my family, and attend to my domestic concerns, which have been neglected for the last three years; and Brussels, which, in addition to these advantages, possesses that of the language, which would enable me to superintend the education of my children, is the place in which I should be happy to reside. I have requested M. Latour Dupin, at the Hague, to obtain the necessary permission to enable me to do so, and I earnestly entreat you to assist him, in as far as it lies in your power."

The same thing that had happened in the Netherlands happened also at Frankfort; I received no answer to my letter. But his Excellency did not remain idle with respect to me, and I have been assured that he had immediately required from the senate of this free and sovereign city, my removal within the space of twenty-four hours. Fortunately the Prussian officer who was obliged

to follow me, and who did not relish such a continuation of our journey, induced the Minister from his court to interfere, in order that I might be allowed to remain at Frankfort. Discussions were therefore held on my case, and I had at first resolved to wait patiently to see to whom the charge of my person would remain; but in compliance with some good advice that was given to me, I applied to the Minister of Austria (the Baron de Wessemberg), to inform him that I had applied to his Sovereign to implore an asylum in his dominions, and that I should consider myself fortunate in being allowed to await his decision here. These few words, addressed to a man of honourable and generous feelings, were quite sufficient to put an immediate end to the fresh vexations to which I was exposed. He instantly interfered, declared that I was temporarily under the protection of his Sovereign, and demanded that things should remain *in statu quo* until he heard from his court.

From that instant every thing became calm, and the tide of British persecutions, which rolling from afar had so long harassed my existence, was at last stopped. The senate allowed me to reside in Frankfort, and the Prussian officer took his departure. Politeness now succeeded to churlishness: Prince Hardenberg, to whom I had written to complain of my arrest in the Rhenish provinces, replied that he had been very angry about it him-

self. An answer came from Vienna, most graciously granting the asylum which I had demanded. I was now free, and I acquired also the hope of seeing my liberty respected for the future; for the Duke of Richelieu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom our Ambassador at Frankfort applied respecting me, answered, I was told, "that I should be left unmolested."

The Duke of Richelieu, feeling his independence, had no doubt only followed the impulse of his natural generosity, whereas it must be presumed that these sentiments were restrained in the breast of our Ambassador at Frankfort, by the necessity of giving pledges of his fidelity, having been formerly Napoleon's minister at the court of King Jerome. This line of conduct was very proper on his part, no doubt; but I had a right to think it unfortunate that it had, on this occasion, been pursued at my expense.

My first care, as soon as I was at liberty to dispose of my actions, was entirely directed to the grand motive which had caused my departure from St. Helena, and brought me back to Europe. Though repulsed from London, where I had founded my greatest hopes, I nevertheless embraced with ardour the means that were still left to me.

I first wrote to Maria Louisa, as in duty bound, and addressed my letter to her unsealed and under cover to Prince Metternich, principal Minister of

Austria. I afterwards wrote to the three Allied Sovereigns. I transcribe here those letters:

Letter to Maria Louisa, written at the Cape of Good Hope, and forwarded to Europe.

"Madam,—I have no sooner left St. Helena, than I think it my duty to hasten to lay at the feet of your Majesty some intelligence from your august consort. I have been suddenly torn from his presence, without any previous notice, and as it were struck with sudden death at his side, without the possibility of his having foreseen such an event. I am not therefore fortunate enough to be intrusted with any special message for your Majesty; and it is from his every day habits and conversation that I must collect what details I shall presume to transmit to your Majesty.

"Indifferent to public events, the Emperor Napoleon most frequently indulged in the contemplation of his family recollections and affections. He was grieved at not having ever received, although he had officially demanded it of those who guard him, any news from those who are most dear to him. Your Majesty will find the lively expression of that regret traced by the hand of your illustrious consort, in the letter which he did me the honour to write me, after I had been separated from him, a copy of which I shall take the liberty of laying before your Majesty.*

"The health of the Emperor, at my departure, was very much impaired, and his situation was most painful in every respect, being exposed to numerous wants, and deprived of every enjoyment. Fortunately his mind triumphed unhurt, and remained calm and serene.

"I have seen him obliged, every month to sell, part of his plate to supply his daily wants, and he has been reduced to accept a small sum which a faithful servant was fortunate enough to have at his disposal in England, when he left him.

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* See the Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to Count Las Cases, in Part VII.

"Madam, guided by the sentiments which fill my heart, I take the liberty, as a devoted servant, to lay at the feet of your Majesty, in the hope of being agreeable to you, a sacrifice which is dear to me, being some hair of your august consort, which has been a long time in my possession. I presume also to send at the same time to your Majesty, a plan of Longwood,* drawn by my son for his mother. Your Majesty will no doubt feel interested in examining in its details this remote desert.

"On arriving in Europe, my first step would be to go and throw myself at the feet of your Majesty, if a sacred duty did not oblige me to remain in England, in order to devote every instant of my life to endeavour to impart, through the means allowed by the British regulations, some consolation to the inhabitants of that horrible rock, which must ever retain the object of my most tender cares. The British Ministers will not refuse to allow me to undertake this pious occupation. I shall solicit it with ardour, and fulfil it with loyalty. I am, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"P. S. On my arrival in Europe, Madam, I have been ejected by England, arrested on the Continent, detained by sickness at Frankfort, and have just obtained an asylum in the dominions of your august father. I take advantage of the first moment of my liberty, to address to your Majesty the above letter, that was written for you at the extremity of Africa, at a distance of three thousand leagues. I entreat your Majesty to deign to receive it favourably, and that will be some consolation for my sufferings."

Letter to Prince Metternich, containing thepreceding.

"Prince,—I hasten to offer to your Highness my sincere thanks, for the favour of an asylum obtained in the dominions of his Majesty the Emperor.

"I take the liberty at the same time to enclose under cover to you, a letter for her Majesty Maria Louisa. And here, Prince,

* See the Plan.

I entreat you to allow me to lay aside the public character with which your Highness is invested, to address you in your private character only. I wish to ask for advice rather than to accomplish an act. Having been so long absent from Europe, I might unknowingly and unwillingly transgress the rules of expediency. I give myself up to the effusion of my heart.

" Prince, the result of these different feelings has been to induce me to confide the letter which I enclose herein, unsealed, to your discretion and personal judgment. It is again the result of these same feelings, which impels me to represent to you the Emperor Napoleon a prey on his rock to the persecution of some personal enemies, and abandoned by all the rest of the world. Henceforth I shall live only in the hope of affording him some sources of consolation. From a daily intercourse of eighteen months, and, I may say, from some moments of unreserved confidence, I know those that would be most dear to him. And who can know Napoleon better than I do? He already feels and converses on the subjects of the past events of his own history, as if they had happened three hundred years ago. He has only remained unchanged with respect to family feelings. Whatever political events may have occurred, he entertains no doubts on the score of domestic sentiments. How, through what channels, by what means, could I, without transgressing the rules of expediency, or any regulations and intentions, obtain direct intelligence concerning his wife and his son? Prince, I again repeat that this communication is from man to man: it is one heart questioning another.

" During my residence at St. Helena, we have not had any intercourse, nor been able to have any, with the Commissioner from Austria. Your Highness must have read in a public document,* written in answer to the Governor, that *if the Austrian and Russian Commissioners had been sent to see that Napoleon was treated in a proper manner and with the respect due to him, this measure was in harmony with the character of their Sovereigns;*

* Letter from Count Montholon in answer to Sir Hudson Lowe. See Part V.

but that the Governor having declared that they had no right nor authority to interfere on the subject, had by that declaration rendered them inadmissible. At the same time, Napoleon publicly said that he would willingly receive them as private individuals, yet we have not seen them; be it that such was the tenor of their instructions, or, as I have more reason to suppose, that the Governor wished to subject them, as private individuals, to restrictions which would have degraded their character.

" Your Highness will see by the copy of a letter, transcribed for her Majesty Maria Louisa, the severity used towards an Austrian botanist, and how much the Emperor Napoleon was hurt by that circumstance. I again repeat to your Highness the expression of the nature of my sentiments, and the assurance of the high respect with which I am, &c.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

" P. S. In case my letter for her Majesty Maria Louisa should not be delivered to her, I request your Highness will do me the particular favour to cause the hair which is enclosed in it to be returned to me."

Letter to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia.

" SIRE,—A sentiment, a sacred duty, brings me to the feet of your Majesty.

" The zealous and faithful servant of a royal victim of adversity, presumes to lift up his voice to your throne, surrounded by every prosperity which fortune can bestow; will you refuse to hear him?

" Unexpectedly torn from Napoleon, and, as it were, struck with sudden death at his side, I have since wandered as in another universe, pursued every where by the recollection of sufferings which I have witnessed, and can no longer share.

" It is at your feet, Sire, that my heart prompts me to seek for an alleviation of my affliction, for encouragement to my hope.

" Your treaty of the 2d August, 1815, with your illustrious Allies, stipulates that Napoleon is your prisoner, and abandons to

England the possession of his person, and the care and necessary measures of his detention.

" I shall not say any thing against that treaty, Sire; I shall not even complain of the manner in which the British Ministers execute that part of the treaty which you have intrusted to their care.

" The high interests of politics, the great grievances, however they may weigh upon my heart, are at this moment far from my thoughts; domestic cares alone occupy my breast.

" I therefore implore your Majesty, as I have implored your high Allies,* to deign to protect the request which I address to the English Government, to be allowed to devote myself in London to the care of procuring for the illustrious captive, through the means allowed by the laws and regulations, some moral enjoyments, and some physical comforts, which will not be a burden to any body.

" My request, Sire, is an innocent favour, natural and simple, and against which no reasonable objection can be raised. Indeed, I profess strong claims on your Majesty's attention; in making that request, you are far from being a stranger to them.

" In abandoning to others the custody and detention of the captive, your Majesty has certainly not renounced your right of superintendence over the marks of attention and respect due to his sacred person. In renouncing all political interposition, your Majesty has not intended to preclude yourself from contributing to the consolations approved by your individual sentiments, and to those alleviations that do not interfere with the principal object in view.

" Every day, Sire, at St. Helena, chains are imposed, and their weight is aggravated in your name. Can you, Sire, have allowed your name to reach that spot, only to authorize odious and intolerable acts of severity?

" He upon whom these acts are inflicted, Sire, is the same to

* Similar letters had been addressed to the Emperor of Austria and to the King of Prussia, varied only in some particulars, as the individual circumstances of these Princes respectively required.

whom you long gave the name of *brother*. Your royal heart cannot forget it, it cannot remain insensible. I therefore appeal, in order to obtain a small favour, to your sympathy, to your recollections, and even to your dignity. Your magnanimous mind, Sire, has shewn itself too much the friend of public morality, it has displayed too much private delicacy and generosity in its various bearings, to allow me to doubt for an instant of success.

" And what is, Sire, once more, the object for which I request your protection? Merely to be allowed to be near the place of communication and conveyance, that is, on the spot the most favourable, and in the situation the most proper, to be able, according to the prescribed forms and regulations, to continue from afar, those domestic cares which I am no longer allowed to exercise in the prison itself: that is all.

" Nevertheless, Sire, I implore and expect this favour from your Majesty. And how happy should I be if your Majesty should deign to add to it, that of confiding to my care, that part of the private and moral interest, which your great engagements cannot have compelled you to renounce. And who better than myself, Sire, could fulfil that duty? Who could devote himself to it with more ardour? I have banished myself from my native country, in order to be able to give up to that purpose the rest of my life without interruption or restraint. Deign, Sire, to listen to me, and comply with my request, I beseech you. And on whom are these cares to be bestowed? In whose favour do I solicit to be allowed to sacrifice myself? Sire, it is in favour of the man whom you once called your friend.

" The reign of your Majesty is sufficiently distinguished by prodigies and monuments of glory; with these, history is already provided; let it also record acts of more exalted virtue; do something for friendship!—Let history say of you; in the midst of the most violent political contest that ever existed, he gave the example of something still greater than victory: he remembered, he respected the feelings of ancient friendship! . . . .

" How many times, on our rock, have I heard the Emperor Napoleon conversing on the past events of his life, as if they

had occurred several centuries ago, and already speaking the language of history, say: *I never had any war with the Emperor Alexander but a political one; that war had nothing to do with our individual feelings; I cannot suppose him to feel any personal animosity against me.* A circumstance which would be worthy of you, Sire, tended to confirm him in this opinion. A report reached us on our rock, that the Commissioner of your Majesty at St. Helena, had, at the end of his instructions, a recommendation, written by your Majesty's own hand, enjoining him most positively to shew the same marks of respect to the Emperor Napoleon, as are shewn to yourself. We took pleasure in repeating this report to him; we were aware that he was pleased by it. Such a proceeding was in harmony with the character of your Majesty, and we believed in it; without, however, having had it in our power to convince ourselves of its truth; for (during my stay at least) we never could hold any communication with the Commissioner of your Majesty. You will doubtless have heard, that Napoleon being required by the Governor of St. Helena, to receive the Commissioner of your Majesty, and that of your illustrious ally, the Emperor of Austria, ordered the following answer to be given: *That if those Commissioners were ordered by their Masters, to take care, that in an island in the midst of the ocean, remote from the rest of the world, he should be treated with the respect due to him, he recognised, in that measure, the character of these two Princes; that the Governor having declared that they had no right to interfere in any thing that happened on that rock, they from that moment were without an official character in his eyes.* He, however, added, that he should be happy to see them as private individuals; but this message remained without effect, either from their having never been apprized of it, or from their instructions not allowing them to take advantage of it; or lastly, perhaps (and I do not think it at all improbable) because the English Governor wished in that case to subject them to certain conditions, which were inconsistent with their character.

"If I have thus presumed, Sire, to raise my humble voice to

your Majesty; my temerity was inspired by the entire, ardent, and unalterable devotion which I cherish for him who once reigned over me, who was my master ..... and that sentiment will plead in my favour in the eyes of your Majesty.

"I am, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

With a heart still oppressed by all the ill usage I had experienced, proceeding from the British Government, I deemed it incumbent upon me, and a public duty as it were, to complain to Lord Bathurst in the following letter, which, by the way, was kept secret for upwards of ten months, and might have remained so for ever, had not Mr. Goulburn, Under Secretary of State, by certain misplaced and incorrect assertions which he made in the House of Commons concerning me, as will hereafter be seen, compelled me in some degree to publish it. This circumstance, however, is an additional pledge to the reader, of the authenticity and correctness of all the facts which I have stated.

Letter of Count de Las Cases to Lord Bathurst.

"My Lord,—Were I to bear in silence the arbitrary and tyrannical acts, the infraction of the laws, the contempt of all forms, the violation of principles, of which I have been a victim, for upwards of a year that I have been in the hands of your agents, my silence might be construed into a tacit acquiescence which would render me guilty towards myself, towards you, and towards society at large. Towards myself, because I have ample cause to seek for redress; towards you, who are ignorant of my grounds of complaint, and might perhaps hasten to grant me

that redress, and towards society; on whose behalf every upright man ought sternly to resist the encroachments of power, for the honour of the laws, and for the protection of those who come after him.

" My Lord, if I have so long delayed stating my grievances to you, the blame attaches to yourself, to the persecution that has assailed me upon your shores, and to that to which you have given the impulse in neighbouring countries. It would appear, in fact, as if a species of torment had been invented for me; a deportation in the high roads. I have been carried from one to another like a malefactor, notwithstanding that I was in a dying state, without any motive having been assigned for such conduct, and without being allowed to take any rest. How then was it possible for me to write to you?

" If I now address your Lordship personally respecting what concerns me, it is because all the acts of which I have to complain have originated, and have been continued in your department, and under your name; and that if other hands have since oppressed me, I am indebted to your Lordship for being placed within their reach, and to your suggestions for the treatment which they have inflicted upon me.

" My Lord, I am one of the four to which your orders at Plymouth had reduced the number of those who eagerly sought the happiness and glory of following the illustrious victim of the *dreadful hospitality of the Bellerophon;* I followed my sacred occupation at Longwood to the best of my power; all the faculties of my heart and soul were engaged in soothing the bitterest captivity ever known, when the Governor of St. Helena suddenly tore me away from that Island. Perhaps he was right: I had infringed his regulations. But after all, I was guilty of no other crime than that of using the right which every prisoner possesses, of endeavouring without any scruple to deceive the vigilance of his gaoler; for between us nothing had been left to delicacy, confidence, or honour. I have not complained of the proceedings enforced against me. I was only grieved at the uncalled-for insult inflicted upon him from whom I was separated. It was

almost by his side, almost under his eye, that I was arrested; on which occasion he wrote, what you no doubt will have read, that seeing me from his windows hurried off on the plain, in the midst of waving plumes and horses prancing around me, he had fancied he saw the savages of the South Sea, who, in their ferocious joy, dance round the victim whom they are about to devour.

" My Lord, it was natural for me to believe that the cause of what has happened to me, the confiding of secret documents to my servant at his own request, was but the result of a snare laid for me. The Governor himself agreed with me that appearances might justify my suspicion; but he gave me his word of honour that he had nothing to do in the business, and I believed him. It had originally been intended, however, that those secret documents should pass through the Governor's hands; they would have been addressed to him, if he had not informed me a short time before, that if I continued to write in the same style, he would separate me from him to whom I devoted my existence. So true is this assertion, and so unimportant in themselves were the documents, that they have never since been mentioned; they have remained entirely unconnected with the event to which they had given rise.*

" My Lord, my captivity in St. Helena was only voluntary. According to your own regulation, it was to cease at my pleasure: As soon, therefore, as I found myself separated from Longwood, I signified to Sir Hudson Lowe, that I, from that moment, withdrew from his personal control, and placed myself again under the protection of the civil and general laws; that if I had

* Unless this should be what a Minister intended to allude to in the British Parliament, on the 14th May, 1818.

Endeavouring to justify the persecutions exercised against Count de Las Cases, he said that he had been found out in an attempt to establish a correspondence in Europe, through the medium of England. But the noble Lord only made the assertion orally, and refused to exhibit the official documents that would have afforded a proof of it. An opinion may be formed on this subject from this latter circumstance.

committed any offence, I demanded to be sent into the presence of my judges; that if he thought it necessary to submit to the inspection of Ministers my papers, which I had given him sufficient time to examine and to understand, I desired they might be sent to you, my Lord, and that I might be sent with them. And in order that he should have the less difficulty in taking this determination, I represented to him the dreadful state of my health, and the imminent danger of my son, which required our being sent to where we might procure the first medical advice; and I further added, that I submitted willingly and unreservedly to every restriction, however illegal, that your Lordship might deem it necessary to impose upon me when I should have arrived in England. Sir Hudson Lowe did not think himself at liberty to take this step; and after he had long hesitated, and had kept me a close prisoner in the Island during five or six weeks, he at last sent me off to the Cape of Good Hope, according to the letter of his instructions; a measure which he might, and certainly ought to have adopted within a few days after my arrest. This Governor at the same time, kept back such of my papers as he thought proper, without allowing me to affix my seal to them, or he would only allow me to do so under the derisive condition of my express consent to his breaking the seal in my absence if he thought proper, which was equivalent to a prohibition of sealing them at all.

"By the aid of such subterfuges, Sir Hudson Lowe might likewise assert that it was in my power to return to Longwood; it is true, that being urged by my arguments, and by the delicacy of his position with respect to me, he offered to let me go back there, because that would have relieved him from his embarrassment. But at the same time he made the offer, he rendered it impossible for me to accept it: 'You have disgraced me and dishonoured me,' said I to him, 'in arresting me in Napoleon's presence; I could no longer be an object of consolation for him, but one rather that would bring painful and injurious recollections to his mind; I could not appear again at Longwood except at his express desire.' I asked leave to write; I even did write

to inquire whether there existed such a wish; but Sir Hudson Lowe insisted upon dictating or controlling the expressions of my letter, and I was bound to refuse. His advantages were by far too great already, placed as he was amongst close prisoners, whose actions he separately directed at his will. Besides, if I even went back, he did not consent to return me my papers. The very next day he might renew upon me, or upon my unfortunate companions, the example of such degrading acts of authority; I had the grief of having opened the door to such an abuse of power, and my return would give to it the sanction of precedent for the future; no alternative was, therefore, left to me, but to quit the Island with an aching heart.

"I think, my Lord, I have stated to you every thing relating to my affairs at St. Helena; this account is proved and developed in my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, all the documents of which, carefully arranged and put in order by myself, were seized in the Thames by your directions, and are at present in your possession.

"My Lord, when I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, I thought myself better situated for enjoying the protection of your laws. Away from the fatal island, where certain irregularities might perhaps find a colouring in the importance of the motive which had occasioned them, I found myself at a distance of five hundred leagues, in a quiet colony, governed by the uncontrolled operation of your excellent laws so deservedly extolled. How great was my astonishment! Lord Charles Somerset found no difficulty in doing at the Cape, what Sir Hudson Lowe had not dared to do at St. Helena;—to detain me a prisoner. In vain I made the same entreaties, and urged the same arguments; in vain I offered the same concessions that I offered to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order that I might be sent to your Lordship in Europe; all was useless; he detained me. And this was an act of his own will and caprice, for Sir Hudson Lowe was not his superior, and could not therefore give him any orders. Lord Charles Somerset governed without control; he held a discretionary power; he could and ought to have been a summary judge in

my affair, but he constantly refused to listen to me, rejected all explanation, and notwithstanding my warm and urgent representations, contented himself with coolly inquiring of my natural judges, at a distance of three thousand leagues, whether he should do right in sending me to them; thereby inflicting upon me from that moment, the most dreadful sentence that any tribunal could ever have pronounced; an exile, and an imprisonment of seven or eight months' duration, separated by three thousand leagues from my family, my private affairs, my country, my connexions, and all my affections.

"My Lord, according to the sanctity of your laws, and to the principles which have been transmitted to you by your forefathers, Lord Charles Somerset has become guilty towards me of the greatest of crimes; a crime which in the eyes of many people is equal to that of homicide, and which, from the torments I have been made to endure, exceeds it in mine. I denounce it to you, and demand justice at your hands. There is not an Englishman valuing his noble privileges, whose voice does not unite with mine, and who does not form to himself a correct idea of the torments I have suffered. In vain it will be alleged, that the Cape is but a colony governed by a military power, and still, to a certain extent, by Dutch laws. My Lord, the justice and protection of the British laws ought to reign, wherever the British name extends. What would be a crime on the banks of the Thames, cannot be a matter of indifference in a part of Africa, over which the British standard waves.

"I was not a prisoner of war; I could only be a prisoner amenable to the tribunals. To have kept me eight months separated from my judges, is a denial of justice that would make an Englishman shudder; to have punished me without either trial or sentence, is an act of tyranny which is revolting to your legislation. What did I ask of Lord Charles Somerset? Did I demand my liberty? No; I only requested that I might be sent a prisoner to you, and undergo a trial, if there was cause for one. But he sported in this instance with that, which reason holds most sacred, which is most pleasing to the heart, and dearest to

man. What could be his motives? What excuses could he plead? He constantly and obstinately refused to give any. And here, my Lord, I desire it may be understood, that indignation and grief do not carry me so far, as not to distinguish in Lord Charles Somerset the private attentions with which he endeavoured to soften my captivity from the infamy of the public act by which he doomed me to it; although it is true, that towards the end of my residence, the warmth of my expressions, and no doubt the importunity of my appeals, exasperated him so far as to induce him to keep me confined in the country, in spite of my entreaties, and of the deplorable state of my health, out of the daily reach of physicians and medicines.

" At last, my Lord, after a captivity of seven months, it was signified to me, no doubt in consequence of orders arrived from your Lordship, that I had only to procure a vessel to carry me to England. In vain I asked that some opportunity might be selected, which would afford some of those comforts which the distressing state of my health, and that of my son, required; every suitable ship was refused to me under some pretence or other; and the choice that was left to me, was reduced to the only vessel on the eve of sailing; and even that was pointed out to me by the Governor himself. I was compelled to embark in it as a *prisoner*, and yet *at my own expense;* (this, by the way, appears a little contradictory;) and in this brig of the burden of two hundred and thirty tons, and having a crew of twelve men, we had to endure a voyage of nearly one hundred days, without a physician and subjected to all the inconveniences, all the privations, all the evils, attendant upon so small a vessel.

" This, my Lord, is all that concerns my affair at the Cape of Good Hope, the proof and particulars of which, are to be found in my correspondence with Lord Charles Somerset, which was seized in the Thames by your orders, and is at present in your possession.

" On reaching your shores, my Lord, I thought I had got to the end of my troubles. On my arrival at the Cape, I had the honour of addressing a letter to the Prince Regent, to im-

plore his royal protection; I had also written one to your Lordship upon the same subject, and I had no doubt that the order given for my return, was owing to those letters. Already I felt my sufferings alleviated by the pleasing prospect of seeing some friends I have in London, and of resuming the management of my private affairs, which had been either neglected, or totally ruined during an absence of upwards of three years; but what was my surprise! On arriving in the Thames, I was instantly placed in solitary confinement, and had seals put upon my papers. A few hours afterwards, one of your messengers came to seize my person in the middle of the night, signified to me the order for my being conveyed to the Continent, and conducted me to Dover, for the purpose of sending me there. A delay of three days having occurred, his zeal led him to turn this time to account; he restored my papers to me; procured me every facility for writing; did all he could to encourage me to write, and watched for the very last moment previous to my departure, in order to make the most minute search after my papers, and carry every one of them away, to the very last written line. This, my Lord, is a kind of snare which I am far from attributing to any other cause, than to the baseness of the person who laid it.

"A similar circumstance had occurred at St. Helena. Sir Hudson Lowe after having kept me confined for five weeks, during which he had allowed me every facility to write, wished at my departure, to search again amongst my papers; but it was sufficient for me to observe to him, how strange it would appear, that he had afforded me the facility of confiding to paper, ideas which I should otherwise have kept within my own breast. Sir Hudson Lowe instantly gave up the thought; it is an acknowledgment which, in justice to the Governor, I am bound to make.

"What appears most strange, my Lord, and what will hardly be credited, is, that your messenger should have packed up all my papers, in spite of my remonstrances, and have taken them away from me, without writing down an inventory of them, or attending to any of the formalities required by all received no-

tions of jurisprudence throughout the world. Persuaded that this deviation from first principles proceeded from the ignorance of the subaltern, and not from the orders of the Minister, I sought for your own interest, my Lord, to remedy the evil, by obtaining, and hastening to affix my seal to the papers, in order that you might rectify in time the errors of your agents. I am anxious that your Lordship should appreciate the motive of this proceeding; it was solely intended, as will be made evident to you by the nature of my papers, to afford you an insight into my character, and a proof of my moderation. I had the honour of writing to Lord Sidmouth to this effect, on the spur of the moment, and of pointing out to him at the same time, how necessary my presence would be at the examination of my papers, which are very easily understood by the most trifling explanation from myself, but which might remain quite unintelligible in my absence. Lord Sidmouth has not honoured me with a reply.

"Your agent however, my Lord, outstepping the bounds of that decency and generous feeling which particularly characterize the individuals of your nation, contrived to add more bitterness to his mission than could well be imagined. After having offended me once, by grossly insulting the person whom I venerate above all others in this world, he heaped upon myself every expression of insult which language affords, for no other reason than that I would not enter into conversation with him. He had received your orders to guard me; but could he suppose that you wished to extend your power so far, as to force me to associate with him? This man had an assistant, of whom I have no reason to complain, although he took a part in inflicting the treatment I experienced; I could, however, occasionally remark a certain reserve in him towards me; and he was besides urged on, and excited by the other.

"Your messenger, my Lord, in signifying to me, in the middle of the night, the order for my removal, left me no other choice than Calais or Ostend. I had hardly recovered from my surprise, when I had to make an immediate decision. A few hours afterwards, I asked, upon further reflection, whether I could not be

allowed to go to America, or to some other part of the Continent. The messenger replied in the negative, and that he had already written to the Government, to communicate the choice I had made; I again urged the subject, but he assured me he was persuaded that all my endeavours would be vain. Could his assertion be true, my Lord? I have a difficulty in believing it; nevertheless it determined my fate.

"I have seen, but have not been allowed to hold in my hands, the order of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, which commands me instantly to quit England. Was this refusal a mere matter of form? Was it a precaution taken? Would this royal act involve any responsibility, or was it feared that I might pride myself upon it? And, in fact, could it be otherwise, when, without laying any crime to my charge, it seemed only to punish an act of the most rare devotedness, that of a servant sacrificing himself with his master when fortune had deserted him.

"My Lord, when your Lordship limited my choice, I selected Ostend in preference to Calais, from pure motives of delicacy suggested to me by tender love of my country; it would have been too painful to me that my countrymen should ever be accused of having persecuted me for a virtuous action. This conduct on their part might perhaps, however, have been at least excusable; on yours, my Lord, my removal from England proceeded from a mere caprice, a severity that nothing can palliate.

"I am now, however, upon the Continent, where I have been thrown by you against my will. Allow me, my Lord to pause here for a moment. I know every circumstance of my life; and happily there is not a corner in Europe where I may not tread with an easy heart, an open countenance, and a firm step. But you, my Lord, who neither have the leisure, nor the will, nor the means of inquiring into my obscure career, if by chance I had been brought into danger through the effects of political dissensions, during the existence of which, all actions that are proscribed are not therefore crimes, if I had fallen a sacrifice, I should

have been called a victim; but you, my Lord, who would have delivered me up, what name might not have been given to you? Were you not exposing yourself to have it said of you, 'Whilst the English legislature prides itself upon having abolished the trade of black slaves to the islands of America, the British Ministers are trading in white flesh on the continent of Europe!'

"My Lord, in consequence of the impulse which your Lordship has given to my destinies, I have been seized and conducted across the kingdom of the Netherlands like a malefactor; and though in a dying state, have been treated without mercy. I have loudly complained of this conduct. On this subject, my Lord, shall I venture to repeat to you some unpleasant truths that were told me? But why not? All your countrymen have a right to tell the truth fearlessly to a British Minister, and this is much more incumbent upon a foreigner who has such just motives of complaint and sorrow. Well then, my Lord, when I complained of so revolting an abuse of power against me, I was asked from what part of the world I came, and whence proceeded my astonishment. Some persons said to me, 'We have a good King; do not find fault with him; he is only the instrument that strikes you; the tyrannical hand that wields it is farther off.' Others added, 'The English nation had settlements in India a long time since for the benefit of its commerce, and the English Ministers are now establishing some upon the Continent to favour their despotism. When their authority is eluded in England, they protract it upon the Continent. They have placed amongst us their instruments of torture and their executioners, and you will neither escape from their inquisition, nor from the punishments it inflicts.' Then followed a volley of animadversions and imprecations against England and Englishmen. No doubt, my Lord, that people who are wise, well informed, and free from passions, are not mistaken on this subject, and know with whom alone the blame rests. They can very well distinguish the excellence of the laws from their violation, and from the abuse of power; they know that true Englishmen abhor and detest all species of tyranny, whether at home or abroad; that in their island they are the most ardent

defenders, the most zealous guardians, of the great and noble truths which upon our Continent are the objects of our hopes and of our wishes. But the majority of the people do not consider the question so closely; they find it the shortest way to attack a whole nation, and to involve it in one general condemnation.

"But in short, my Lord, what is, after all, my crime? I demand what can be the motive of so cruel a persecution? and the countries in which that persecution has been continued by the impulse given by you, unite with me in demanding it. Every where the authorities, who have exercised their jurisdiction over my person, have carefully avoided seeing me. The rights which I possessed would have embarrassed them, and they could not have assigned any motive for their acts. They are ignorant of the origin and of the cause of them. From the Cape of Good Hope to the place where I now am, whenever I have asked what sentence had been pronounced, what charge had been preferred against me, I have been answered by the production of an order; and when I have required a motive to be assigned, I have received no answer at all.

"My Lord, I had the honour of addressing to you from the Cape the following observations, which I now repeat:—What rational objection can be raised against the wish which I expressed to inhabit your country, and to reside near you? Was it feared that I should converse and write upon political subjects? But if I had, what inconvenience could result therefrom to England? Was it feared that I should publish unwelcome complaints respecting your administration? But is there a spot on the Continent where I am forbidden to give vent to those complaints, and where I should not find every body disposed to listen to them? Placed on your own territory, and within your reach, was not that the situation in which you would have had the surest hold upon me, and the greatest authority over me? If I became guilty, had you not your general laws? If I became obnoxious, had you not your private laws; and, moreover, your *Alien Bill?* Lastly, and above all, you had as a pledge of my reserve and moderation, my wish to remain near you. That wish

was great, my Lord, and I will tell you why. My residence in England would have enabled me to fulfil the hopes and the destiny of my life, by devoting myself for ever to procure (consistently with your regulations, and through the legal channel allowed by you) some consolations and comforts to him whose loss I deplore. I suppose, my Lord, that you and your colleagues have a sufficient degree of elevation of mind, to fulfil, on this occasion, a political duty, and at the same time, to remain strangers to all motives of personal animosity. Having secured the safe custody of the captive, you cannot grudge the enjoyment of any indulgence that is not a burden to you; you will on the contrary, facilitate the means of his obtaining them. I implore, therefore, to be allowed to undertake the sacred duty of bestowing them; my heart feels the want of fulfilling it: I will do it in good faith. I should have convinced you, my Lord, had I been able to see you, and I do not despair yet; I still solicit again...

"I had also considered, my Lord, I must confess, that another chance of my admission existed in the wish which your Lordship must have felt, to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to learn the truth. I thought, that both your situation and your character would prompt you to do so. And what conflicting evidence would you not thus have obtained to direct you in your noble functions as jury! I should have replied to all your questions with candour and without passion: I should have convinced you quietly, if you had wished it, of all the errors in which the multiplicity and importance of your affairs compel you to remain with respect to us. I have read in three different papers, the Times, the New Times, and the London Chronicle, your answer to Lord Holland, on his motion relative to St. Helena; and I can assure you, that almost every line of it is founded on error.

"God forbid, my Lord, that I should suspect that you do not believe yourself what you state! But your information has been erroneous. Your Lordship has affirmed, for instance, that none of the relations of the Emperor Napoleon had written to him; whereas I myself delivered to him three or four letters, sent by you through Sir Hudson Lowe, from Madame, from the Princess

Borghese, and from his brother Lucien. The fact in itself, my Lord, is unimportant; but the want of exactness on this point, must excite your doubts upon others, and corroborate, in some degree, my assertions upon the remainder. Again, that part of your speech concerning myself, is so garbled, that notwithstanding the unfavourable prejudice which I have a right to entertain against Sir Hudson Lowe, I am persuaded that he will himself exclaim against the incorrectness of the statement. Be that as it may, my Lord, in the heat of opposition, and of conflicting parties, two *true conclusions* are invariably drawn from the same fact, and my conclusion cannot possibly be precisely yours. The public are aware of this, and would therefore have wished to establish theirs upon official documents. But you have thought proper to refuse to produce these documents; will you not have thereby fixed public opinion?

" My Lord, it is time to sum up after so long a statement.

" 1.—I demand justice and redress for the abuse of power, the arbitrary and tyrannic act by which Lord Charles Somerset deprived me of my liberty during so long a period, and in direct violation of the laws of his country.

" 2.—I demand justice and redress for the irregular forms with which all my papers have been seized in the Thames, without an inventory having been made of them, notwithstanding all my remonstrances.

" 3.—I demand justice and redress for having been sent to the Continent as a captive, in open violation of all principles, and, in consequence of an impulse given, or instructions transmitted, obliged to pass through the Netherlands and adjacent countries as a malefactor.

" 4.—I demand the examination and prompt restitution of my papers seized on the Thames. Most of them had been respected by Sir Hudson Lowe, and others are absolutely necessary to me in the daily occurrences of my domestic affairs; they contain all my titles of property and fortune; without them I am deprived of every thing.

" 5.—I demand the restitution of my papers of St. Helena, the

inventory of which, duly certified and signed by Sir Hudson Lowe, is amongst the papers that have been seized in the Thames. My papers of St. Helena consist almost solely of a manuscript, in which are recorded, day by day, during eighteen months, but as yet confusedly, and without being settled, the conversations, the words, and perhaps even the gestures of him who so long guided the destinies of Europe.

"This manuscript, sacred by its nature and its object, was unknown, and was intended to remain unknown to all. I allowed Sir Hudson Lowe to peruse it sufficiently, to be convinced of its inoffensive nature in political matters. On arriving at the Cape, I had the honour to write to the Prince Regent, through the channel of Ministers, as well as to Ministers themselves, to place these precious materials under their special protection; I appealed to them in the name of justice and of history. They are, according to all laws, my sacred property, the property of my children, and of posterity.

"6.—Lastly, and above all, I demand the restoration of the letter which the Emperor Napoleon did me the honour to address to me in my prison, in the Island of St. Helena. A letter entirely foreign to politics, read by the Governor of St. Helena, read by Ministers themselves, if they have thought proper to do so, cannot, consistently with any code of laws, be taken from the person whose property it is, however strong it may be in the tenor of its confidential expressions. This sacred and precious object is the reward of my life, a title for my children, a monument for my family.

"My Lord, as I am by nature and reflection a friend to propriety and moderation, it is to you that I first address the enumeration of my grievances. It is of you alone that I quietly ask their redress.* But if your Lordship should not think proper to reply, it is then to your tribunal that I shall feel compelled to ap-

* This letter was only made public a year after it had been written; the motive which led to its publication has already been seen, and will be further explained in the sequel of these pages.

peal; after that to the tribunal of public opinion; and at last, and above all, to that dread tribunal, which, holding the balance with an equal hand between tyrants and victims, secures in eternity the infallible triumph of all rights and the final chastisement of all injustice.

"I have the honour to be," &c.

It was about this time that my petition to the British Parliament also appeared. I had forwarded it from the deserts of Tygerberg to London: but whether it did not reach its address, or whether obstacles occurred to its being brought forward, not a word had been said about it. My return brought the circumstance to light. A member of the House of Commons, struck with the sensation which its publication had just caused, offered to present it himself; and for that purpose a paper was sent to me from England, to which I affixed my signature. But this formality was not sufficient; and this circumstance, added perhaps to other considerations, prevented its being laid before the House. I transcribe it here. It is so nearly allied to my subject that I trust I shall be forgiven for so doing. Besides, that document and others which are found in this volume, have been mutilated, disfigured, and retranslated into French from a foreign text: I am therefore interested in their being restored in all their integrity. Besides, if they were not found here they might be considered as apocryphal, and that is what I wish to avoid.

Petition to the Parliament of England.

"A simple individual, a helpless stranger, presumes to raise his voice among you, Representatives of the people of England; but he invokes you in the name of humanity, of justice,—in the name of your glory. Can he speak in vain? must he not be heard? Cast out from St. Helena, forced away from the greatest monument of the vicissitudes of human life that ever existed, I approach you to paint to you his situation, his sufferings. Snatched suddenly and unexpectedly from his presence; deprived of all communication, my words, my ideas, will be all my own: they will have no other source but my heart. Perhaps the lofty spirit of him, who is the object of them, will be irritated by the step which I am taking at this moment; thinking that here below he ought not, he cannot appeal from his sufferings, *but to God alone*. Perhaps he will demand of me who has committed the cares and the interests of his life to me? It matters not: my love for him will have caused my weakness. I feel myself already too far from his heroic influence; my heart can no longer contain the ills of which it has been the witness. They open for themselves a passage; they force me to cry out.

"You have banished in the deserts of the ocean him whose magnanimous confidence brought him, *freely and from choice*, to live among you under the protection of your laws, which he considered all powerful. No doubt you sought in your determination only what you conceived useful; you did not pretend to be just; otherwise it might be demanded of you, who put him in your power? who gave you the right of judging him? upon what ground have you condemned him? whom have you heard in his defence?.. But you have made the law... It exists; I respect it. I am not entitled to discuss the principle. I will refrain from all murmur; my protest shall not escape from my heart. You shall hear now only the vexations with which your decisions have been attended, and, no doubt, contrary to your intentions. Representatives of Great Britain, you have said you

only wished to secure the person of the Emperor Napoleon, and to ensure his detention.—This object attained, you proposed that every thing should be lavished upon him that could soften and alleviate what you have considered the work, the obligation of policy:—such have been the spirit, the letter of your laws; the expression of your debates; the wishes of your nation; the sentiments of its honour. Well, then! only the severe part of your intentions has reached the illustrious captive upon his frightful rock. Happy, however, still, if they never had been transgressed. But the clouds which hang over his island are less dense, less dark, than the moral and physical pains which are heaped upon his head.

"Under the vain pretence of apprehensions, purely imaginary, every day has seen new restrictions. His proud spirit has every day brooked new outrages; all exercise has become impossible to him; all visits, all conversations, have been nearly interdicted. Thus privations of every kind, vexations of every nature, unite against him, with the extreme insalubrity of a climate, at once humid and burning, with the dull monotony of a sky without colours or seasons. They contract every instant, in a frightful manner, the circle of his life! He is compelled to keep his chamber. They are inflicting on him his death!

"Did you then intend all these things? No, undoubtedly; and what motives could justify them? The fear of an escape? Then let them call together military and naval men, competent judges, that they may consult their experience, that they may learn their opinions, and let them cease to surrender such an object to the discretion of a single man, who, taking his terrors for his guide, will occupy his time every day with combating phantoms which his own terrified imagination may create, without reflecting that he cannot destroy all chances, nor reach them all, but by causing death. At Longwood all escape is held impossible, no one there thinks of it. Certainly, every one would wish to accomplish the enterprise at the expense of his life: death would appear sweet for so glorious a result. But how elude the officers who are constantly on the watch? escape the sol-

diers who line the shore? descend perpendicular rocks? throw one's self, as it were, to swim in the vast ocean? clear a first line of boats? a second of ships of war? when one is overlooked from all the heights, where one may be surrounded, pursued with signals every instant, and in all directions? And what mode of embarkation could be hazarded? There is none within reach of the shore. In what vessel could refuge be sought? There is not one far or near; all foreign sail, even those of your own nation, become the prey of your cruisers, if they approach without urgent motives the accursed isle!

"With such precautions and under such circumstances, is not then the whole island a prison sufficiently secure? Can it be necessary to fill it incessantly with prisons within prisons? And if so many difficulties could be overcome, which is impossible, do not the immensity of the seas, and almost every land remain still a new prison?

"Now who could induce men in their sound senses to dream of such ridiculous attempts? Who at Longwood could entertain thoughts so madly desperate? Besides, the Emperor Napoleon has still the same views, the same desires which he declared when he came with confidence *freely and in good faith* among you: 'A retreat and repose under the protection of your genuine laws, or those of America.' This is what he wished, this is what he wishes still, what he always demands.

"If then the island of St. Helena, from its nature, be not already a sufficient prison—if it have not the advantage of combining safety with indulgence, then they have deceived your choice and your intentions. For what purpose send us to die miserably in a foreign climate? For what purpose all your additional expenses? For what purpose your numerous garrison and its large staff? For what purpose your naval establishment? For what purpose the restrictions imposed upon the commerce of that unfortunate isle? There were so many points in your European dominions where you could have kept us without expense, and where we should have considered ourselves less unfortunate! If that island, on the contrary, from its nature,

and with the aid of the precautions above stated, presented in itself every thing that human wisdom and prudence can conceive necessary, then would not all aggravating conditions be so many useless vexations, tyrannical and barbarous acts executed against your intention? For it was not your intention to torture Napoleon—to have him put to death by pricks of pins; and yet it is but too true that he perishes from incessant wounds of every day, of every hour, of every minute.

"If you chose to behold in him a simple prisoner, and not the object of the ostracism of kings, a king himself—if you have designed to give him only a common prison, and not to choose for him a place where the asperities of his exile might be mitigated—if it was intended to commit him to a gaoler, and not to an officer of high rank, who by his habits of business and of the world, would know how to unite what he owed to the safety of the captive with the respect and regard which he commands—if it was intended to pursue hatred and vengeance, and all the narrow and vulgar passions—if it was intended only, in fine, to intrust to the climate the death of the illustrious enemy, to charge nature with an act which no one durst execute himself—if all this was intended, I stop, I have nothing more to say; I have already said only too much.

"But if, in the sense of your Bill itself, you meant to accompany your political act, as you in fact did, with all the intentions of a great, noble, and honourable nation, I may continue: for you must have meant all the good that circumstances can permit; interdicted every ill that necessity did not command. You never meant that they should deprive the prisoner of all exercise, by imposing upon him, needlessly, conditions or forms which would have made that recreation a torment.

"You did not wish that they should prescribe to him the nature of his words, the length of phrases; you have not wished that they should abridge his original circuit upon the pretence that he did not make a daily use of its extent; you have not wished that they should force him to confine himself to his chamber, that he might not find himself in the midst of intrench-

ments and pallisadoes, with which they ridiculously surround his garden, &c.

" Now all these things exist; they are renewed every day, although they are considered useless, and although a great many of your countrymen condemn and lament them.—You did not wish that, to the great detriment of his heath and his comforts, he should be condemned to a bad, small, inconvenient dwelling: while the Government had large and fine houses in the town and country, which would have been much more commodious, more appropriate, and would have saved the sending of the famous palace, or to speak much more correctly, of the immense quantity of rough thick planks, now rotting, not used, upon the shore, because they have found that it would require from seven to eight years to complete the intended edifice? You cannot have meant that in despite of the sums which you have devoted to them, the necessaries of life, all the means of subsistence, furnished daily at Longwood, should be of the worst offal, while others could have those of the best quality; you did not mean they should outrage Napoleon so far as to attempt to force him to discuss the little details of his own expenditure, that they should call upon him to produce a surplus where he had none; that in default of his so doing they should threaten him with insufferable reductions; that they should force him to exclaim in his indignation, 'To let him be quiet; that he asked nothing; that when he should be hungry he would go and seat himself among those brave fellows whose tents he perceived at a distance, who would not repulse the oldest soldier in Europe.'—You did not intend that Napoleon should find himself thereby constrained to sell his plate, piece by piece, to supply the deficiency of every month, and that he should find himself reduced to accept what some faithful servants were happy enough to be able to lay at his feet.

O Englishmen! Is it thus they can treat, in your name, him who has governed Europe, disposed of so may thrones, created so many kings? Do you not fear the loud complaint of history? Suppose it should hereafter say, 'They deceived him to get possession of his person, and they afterwards grudged him the

means of subsistence.' Will you suffer your sentiments, your character, your honour, to be thus compromised. Is this then your Bill, your intentions? And what connexion have such unbecoming measures with security? You never intended that authority should make a puerile and barbarous study of incessantly recalling by words, regulations and acts, that which it would have been delicate never to mention; by repeating to us every day that we deceived ourselves strangely respecting our position; by rigidly interdicting all unusual respect; in even punishing, as we have been told, those whose habits had inadvertently led them to shew such respect; by restricting the journals furnished to us, to those which might be the most disagreeable; by voluntarily procuring us libels; and by removing or withholding, on the contrary, favourable works; in fine, by imposing upon us the literal form of the declaration by which we were to purchase the slavery and the happiness of attending a revered object; by compelling us to admit into it denominations contrary to our habits and to our laws, thus taking advantage of our own hands to degrade the august object whom we surrounded; and yet we were obliged to do it, because, upon our unanimous refusal, we were threatened with being all torn from our pleasing employment, instantly thrown on board ship, and carried to the Cape of Good Hope.—How can these cruel and tyrannical measures contribute to security?

"It will be hardly believed that Napoleon, on inquiring if he might be allowed to write to the Prince Regent, was answered by authority that his letter would not be suffered to pass, unless it was open; or that it would be opened to ascertain its contents: a proceeding which reason rejects, as equally insulting to the two august persons.

"St. Helena had been chosen for us, we were told, in order that we might be able to enjoy there a certain degree of liberty, and some indulgence.—But we cannot speak to any one; we are forbidden to write to any one whomsoever; we are restricted in our most petty domestic affairs. Ditches and intrenchments surround our dwellings; an authority without control governs

us. And St. Helena was chosen in order to allow us some indulgence! But what prison in England, then, could have been worse for us? Certainly, there is none there at this day that would not seem to us a blessing. . . . . We should find ourselves in a Christian land; we should breathe European air. The control of a superior authority would have sheltered us from personal resentments, from momentary irritation, or even the want of judgment.

"It has been insinuated to the officers of your nation, that they are not to present themselves before him whom they guard; or they have been forbidden to do so. The English themselves, whatever may be the rank and the confidence which they possess, have been forbidden to approach us, and to enter into conversation with us, without formalities which are equivalent to an interdiction, lest we might represent to them the ill usage with which they have overwhelmed us. A precaution useless with respect to security; but which proves the jealous care with which we are prevented from communicating the truth. They have made our efforts on this subject a crime; as if to inform you of the truth, particularly where it interests your honour, your character, was not doing you a service.

"You certainly never intended to allow such a tyranny over our thoughts and sentiments, as to insinuate to us, or inform us, that if we continued to express ourselves freely in our letters to our relatives, to our friends, we should be torn from the presence of Napoleon, and banished from the Island. Yet it is precisely this circumstance, which has brought about my deportation, by causing me to forward, clandestinely, the very letters which I had, in the first instance, intended for the Governor, and which I would have sent to him, had it not been for his vexatious intimation; an intimation gratuitously tyrannical; since these letters were sent open to Ministers, accompanied, if necessary, by the notes of the local authority, that they might be detained by the Ministers, if they were improper; or even delivered up to the laws, it they were criminal: and since, at all events, they must

have in their eyes the merit of being a further means of obtaining the truth.

" Certainly, you never intended that those who had obtained the favour of staying with Napoleon, should have found themselves within the penalties of the laws, but excluded from their benefit. This is, however, what has been positively signified to us. You did not intend that they should seize my most secret, and most sacred, papers; and though I had allowed them to be read cursorily, in order to shew their nature, that they should be taken from me, and that I should not be allowed to put my seal upon them. You never intended that a barbarous sport should be made, in my case, of whatever is most holy and most sacred among you; that in contempt of my constant claims to be restored to liberty, or brought to trial; that, in despite of my reiterated offers to submit myself voluntarily, beforehand, to all the privations, even arbitrary, which they might choose to impose upon me in England, they should have kept me a prisoner at St. Helena; that they should have sent me from that Island to the Cape of Good Hope, to bring me back, in the course of time, from the Cape to St. Helena; carrying me as a prisoner over the vast extent of sea, in a frail vessel, to the great injury of the health of my son, whose life was in danger, to the peril of my own life, which they have afflicted with infirmities, which must accompany me to the tomb,—if, indeed, they do not precipitate me into it before my time.

" It was not your intention that, on my arrival at the Cape, the Governor should detain me there arbitrarily without examination, without inquiry, without inquest, and cause me to wither there in the pangs of sorrow, of delay, and of despair, upon the ridiculous pretence of sending to a distance of two thousand leagues to inquire of my natural judges, the Ministers to whom I so earnestly solicited to be delivered up, if it would be right to send me to them; and executing beforehand upon me, by that single fact, a sentence a thousand times more terrible than could have been that of my judges, viz. depriving me during several months

of my liberty, detaining me the whole of that time a captive at the extremity of the earth, separated from my family, from my friends, from my interests, from all my sentiments, painfully wearing out in the desert the few days which remain to me. Surely, under the empire of positive laws, no one could thus tyrannically sport with the liberty, the life, the happiness of individuals.

" O Englishmen! if such acts should remain unpunished, your excellent laws would be no more than an empty name. You would carry terror to the extremities of the earth, and there would no longer be either liberty or justice among you.

" Such are the grievances which I had to make known to you, and which are developed, with others, in a letter hereto annexed,* which on leaving St. Helena I sent to the Governor, in the hope that it might produce a reformation.

" Many of these grievances would perhaps have deserved to pass unnoticed by us; nevertheless, I have done myself the violence of laying them before you. There are none of them so trivial as not to interest your honour. And what could be the causes of such measures? From whence can come these gradual attacks, these continued aggravations? How can they have been justified? We know not.

" It is not, however, that the ruling power at St. Helena disputes the danger of the health of the captive, the imminent peril of his life, the probable and speedy issue of such a state of things. ' It will have been his own wish,' they content themselves with coldly observing; ' It will be his own fault.' But do they act discreetly in that? To confess that Napoleon seeks death, is it not confessing that they have rendered life intolerable to him? ' Moreover,' continue they, ' why refuse to take the necessary exercise, because an officer must accompany him? What is there in this formality so hateful, so painful? Why does he insist upon making it a matter of such great importance?' But

* The grievances of Longwood, addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, which have been seen above.

who can arrogate to himself the right of judging of the feelings of the illustrious victim? Napoleon debars himself, and he is silent; what would they have more? Besides it has been reported a thousand times, it is neither the colour of the coat nor the difference of nation which creates repugnance; but the nature of the thing itself, and its inevitable effects. If, in such exercise, the benefit of the body were greatly below the sufferings of the mind, would this exercise be an advantage?

"But, they further insinuate, (for there is not one identical scale for all minds and all sentiments) 'Why such particular regard, why such extraordinary cares and attentions? After all, he is a captive, of distinction perhaps, but what is he more? what are his claims?'

"What he is, and what are his claims, I will proceed to state.

"Napoleon's destiny has been the first, the most astonishing in history. He is the man of renown, of prodigies; the hero of ages. His name is in every mouth; his actions excite every imagination; his career remains without a parallel. When Cæsar meditated the seizure of the sovereign power in his country, Cæsar was already the first man in it, by his birth and his riches; when Alexander undertoook to subjugate Asia, Alexander was a king, and the son of a king who had paved the way for his successes; but Napoleon, rushing from the crowd to govern the world, presents himself alone without any other auxiliary than his genius: his first steps in his career are so many miracles; he immediately covers himself with immortal laurels, and reigns from that instant over every mind: the idol of his soldiers, whose glory he has raised to the skies—the hope of his country, which, in her pangs, already feels that he will be her liberator; and this expectation is not disappointed. At her expiring voice, Napoleon, interrupting his mysterious destinies, hastens from the banks of the Nile; traverses the seas, at the risk of his liberty and of his reputation; and lands alone upon the French shore. Every heart leaps at seeing him again. Acclamations, public rejoicing, and triumph attend him into the capital. At his sight the different factions droop, par-

ties blend themselves into one; he rules, and the revolution is chained.

"The mere weight of opinion, the influence of one single man, effected every thing. He had no occasion to fight; not one drop of blood was shed. Nor was this the only time that such a prodigy distinguished his life.

"At his voice, the principles of disorganization vanish; wounds are closed; stains are effaced. Creation seems once more to come out of chaos.

"All the revolutionary follies disappear; grand and noble truths alone remain. Napoleon knows no party; no prejudice attaches to his administration. All opinions, all sects, all talents, form themselves in a group about him; a new order of things commences.

"The nation recovers breath, and blesses him; the people of other states admire him; kings respect him; every one is happy,—every one feels himself once more honoured in being a Frenchman.

"Shortly he is raised to the throne; he becomes Emperor. Every one knows the rest. Every one knows with what lustre, with what power, he dignified his crown. A Sovereign by the choice of the people, consecrated by the head of religion, sanctioned by the hand of victory, what chief of a dynasty ever united titles so powerful, so noble, so pure? Let them be examined.

"All the Sovereigns were allied to him by blood or treaties. All nations acknowledged him. Englishmen, if you alone are an exception, that exception only belongs to your policy; it was only a matter of form. Moreover, you are precisely those who have seen in Napoleon the most sacred, the most indisputable titles. Other powers may perhaps have yielded to necessity. You, you have done nothing but submit to principles, to your conviction, to the truth; for such are your doctrines, that Napoleon, four times elected by a great nation, must necessarily, in spite of your public denials, have found himself a sovereign

in the bottom of your hearts. Look into your consciences! . . . . Now, Napoleon has lost nothing but his throne; a reverse has snatched it from him; success would have fixed it with him for ever. He has seen eleven hundred thousand men march against him. Their Generals, their Sovereigns have every where proclaimed that his person was their sole object. What destiny! . . . . . He fell; but he only lost power: all his august attributes remain, and command the respect of mankind.

"A thousand recollections of glory still crown him; misfortune renders him sacred, and, in this state of things, the man of real feeling does not hesitate to consider him more venerable upon his rock than at the head of six hundred thousand men, imposing laws.

"Such are his claims.

"In vain would narrow minds, or perfidious hearts, attempt to charge him, as is the custom, with being the offensive cause of all the evils, of all the troubles, of which we have been the witnesses or the victims. The time of libels is past, the truth must have its turn. Already the clouds of falsehood are clearing up before the sun of futurity. A time will come, when the world will render him complete justice; for passions die with contemporaries; but actions live with posterity, which has no bounds. Then it will be said, that the great actions, the great benefits, came from him; that the evils were those of time and fate.

"Who does not now begin to see, that notwithstanding his vast power, he never had the choice of his destiny or of his means? that constantly armed for his defence, he retarded his destruction only by a constant succession of new prodigies; that in this terrible conflict he was placed under the necessity of subduing every thing in order to survive and save the great national cause. Who among you, Englishmen, dreams of denying, above all, this last truth? Has not *war for life* been often proclaimed among you; and did not your secret allies, in the bottom of their hearts, feel that which your position permitted you to declare aloud? Do you not still boast that you would have carried on the war as long as he maintained himself? Thus every time that he

proposed peace to you, whether his offers were sincere, or whether they were not, it was of little importance to you: your decision was fixed. What course then remained for him, and what reproach could be uttered against him, which you yourselves did not already deserve? And who at this day would still pretend to bring forward the vulgar reproach of his ambition? What then has it had so new, so extraordinary, and above all, so exclusive in his person?

" Did it stifle sentiment in him, when he said to the illustrious Fox, that in future, Europe would be so united by laws, manners, and blood, that there could be no war in it, but civil war?

" Was it irresistible, when describing to us all his useless efforts to prevent the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, he concluded that England, notwithstanding all the advantages of to-day, would, however, have gained more by having adhered to it; that all Europe would have gained by it; that he alone, perhaps, his name and his glory, would have lost by it.

" Was it an over-greedy and common ambition, when at Chatillon he preferred the chance of losing a throne, to the certainty of possessing it at the price of the glory and independence of the nation?

" Was it incapable of alteration, when he has been heard to say, ' I returned from the Isle of Elba quite another man. They did not think it possible, and they were wrong. I do not do things with a bad grace, nor by halves. I would have been at once the monarch of the constitution and of peace'?

" Was it insatiable, when, after the victory of which he considered himself certain at Waterloo, his first word to the vanquished, was to have been the offer of the treaty of Paris, and a sincere and solid union, which, blending the interests of the two nations, would have insured the empire of the seas to England, and forced the Continent to repose?

" Was it blind, and without motives, when, after his disaster, passing in review the political consequences which he had so often foreseen, and trembling at the probabilities of the future,

he exclaimed, 'There is no nation, not even the English, who may not one day have to lament their victory at Waterloo'?

"And who can now think of reverting to this charge of ambition? It will not be the people, all astonished as they are, at the conduct of those who have overthrown him. Will it be the Sovereigns? They talked of nothing but justice before the battle, but what use have they made of the victory? Let them cease, then, to repeat these odious charges. They might be an excellent pretence; they would be pitiful justifications. Let them content themselves with having conquered!....

"But I grow warm. Whither do the force of truth, the warmth of sentiment, the impulse of the heart, carry me? I return to my subject.

"Representatives of Great Britain, take this state of things into fresh consideration. Justice, humanity, your honour, your glory, demand it from you. St. Helena is insupportable; Napoleon's stay there is equivalent to certain and premeditated death; you could not wish to make yourselves responsible for this in the eyes of futurity. Napoleon was during twenty years your terrible enemy; he will remind you of *Hannibal* and *of Roman infamy*..... You would not stain with such a spot, the noble pages of your present history. Save your administration the odious, the horrible censure of having trafficked in the blood of a prisoner. History furnishes several examples of it. They all excite our horror; and what an increase of dignity would be reserved for Napoleon's character! For it is easy to predict, when Napoleon shall be no more, when the crime has been accomplished, he will become the man of the people; then he will be only the victim, the martyr of Kings. The inevitable march of the force of things, and of the sentiments of man so wills it. Save our modern annals from such a scandal, and its dangerous consequences. Save royalty from its own blindness. Save the most sacred interests of the great Monarchs, in whose name the victim is under execution. Save royal Majesty in the first of its attributes, the most holy of its characters, its *inviola-*

bility. If kings themselves lay their hands upon the representatives of God on earth, what restraint, what respect can they intend to oppose to the attempts of the people? There is no prosperity here below, secure from time or from fortune. The circle of vicissitudes envelops all thrones. This cause is the cause of all kings, present and to come. An anointed of the Lord degraded, debased, tortured, immolated, cannot, must not be other than an object of indignation, of horror for history, of terror for kings.....

" Recall Napoleon among you; let him come to find repose under the protection of your laws; that they may enjoy his distinguished homage. Do not deprive them of their noblest triumph. And who will prevent you?

" Will it be your first decision? But in recalling it, you would shew to every eye, that you were only then guided by the force of circumstances, the law of necessity.

" Will it be your domestic repose? But the thought of that would be foolish; the doubt an injury, an outrage to your institutions, to your manners, to your whole population.

" Will it be the safety of Europe? But truths of circumstance have their day, and it is only to the vulgar it belongs to perpetuate them, to bring them forward long after they cease to exist. Napoleon, in his omnipotence, might be the terror of Europe; reduced to his single person, he can no longer be any thing but an object of astonishment and meditation. And, in truth, what could he effect at this day, even with power, against the safety of Russia, that of Austria, of Prussia, or your own?

" Finally, can there be any fear of his secret intentions? But Napoleon now has no wish but for repose. In his own eyes, in his own mouth, his wonderful career has already all the distance of ages. He no longer considers himself of this world; his destinies are accomplished. A soul of such elevated power is of no value but to lead to celebrity, to glory. And what mortal has accumulated more of these? Does not the measure seem above the imagination of man? Have not even his reverses been abundant sources of glory to him? Does there exist any thing

to be compared with the return from the Isle of Elba? And, more lately, what an apotheosis is his; the regrets of a great nation. A great number among you have traversed our provinces, penetrated to our fire-sides; you know our secrets, our sentiments. If the country was less dear to him than glory, what has he to desire after what he has left behind? His advanced age, his lost health, his disgust at the vicissitudes of life, perhaps that he feels for men, the satiety, above all, of the great objects pursued here below, leave him nothing new or desirable but a tranquil asylum, a happy and sweet repose. He demands them from you, Englishmen, and you owe them to the heroic magnanimity with which he gave you the preference over all his other enemies. Learn, dare, will to be just. Recall him, and you will have secured the only glory which seems to be wanting in your present condition. The admirers, the real friends of your liberties and of your laws expect this of you; they demand it. You have baffled those who delight in boasting all the benefits that flow from your noble constitution.

" 'Where, then,' say their adversaries, with a triumphant irony, 'is that generosity, that elevation of sentiment, that inflexibility of principle, that public morality, that force of opinion, which you told us distinguished that free people, in some sort superior to the sovereignty itself? Where are the so much vaunted fruits of this classic ground of liberal institutions? All this pompous scaffolding, these imaginary pictures, have then dissappeared before the dangers which a single man has created; or rather before the hatred and the vengeance which he has inspired. And what more could that absolute power which we defend, and you decry so much, have done? It would have done less, perhaps, but most assuredly it would not have been able to do more. It would have shewn itself sensible, no doubt, of the noble and magnanimous confidence of its enemy, or if it had so decided on the ground of utility, it would, at least have shewn more energy, candour, and elevation in its injustice. It would not have descended to palliate its wrong in the eyes of the people, by associating its neighbours gratuitously in it. It would have

avoided above all the leaving itself entangled in this distressing dilemma: Either, when you concluded your iniquitous treaty of ostracism, the victim was not in your power, and you had the cowardice to hold out the hand to him that you might seize him; or, you had him already in your power, and you sacrificed your glory, the honour of your country, the sanctity, the majesty of your laws to foreign solicitations.

"Englishmen, your friends are obliged to turn to you for an answer. They await it.

"As for me, in spite of a fatal experience of two years, such is still my confidence in your principles, that I still reckon upon your justice; and I have dared to speak before you, consulting only my own heart, persuaded that it will be in the midst of you that I shall see the defence and the talents worthy of this great and noble cause arise. However you may decide in other respects, my own destinies are fixed. Wherever the victim dwells I wish to go, to devote at his feet the few days that still remain to me;* and in this tribute of sentiment I shall think I have done nothing but for myself. When I followed him at first, I rather obeyed honour, I followed glory:—but now I bewail, far from him, all the qualities of the heart that attach man to man. How many of your countrymen have approached him! they would all tell you the same thing. Let them be consulted. Englishmen! is this, then, the man who has been portrayed to you? Have you pronounced upon his fate in full possession of the case?

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

My solicitations were not confined to the letters which I addressed to the Allied Sovereigns; my efforts were ardently directed towards every point, and every object I could think of. As soon as I

* All solicitations in this respect with the English Ministry have proved vain. This demand, frequently repeated, remains without an answer, or has produced only a refusal; as may be particularly seen in one of the letters of this collection.

was restored to liberty, I found myself surrounded by the French exiles at Frankfort, who shared my sentiments, and manifested the tenderest sympathy for me. All, not even excepting those who had nothing to spare, save the widow's mite, offered me all they possessed, not only to provide for the personal wants with which they supposed I had to struggle, but also to promote the sacred object which wholly occupied my mind. At Frankfort I had also the happiness to meet the Countess de Survillers, whose extreme generosity is only one of the many virtues that adorn her. Finally, some eminent merchants of Frankfort, merely from hearing of my adventures, and from motives of pure sympathy, made me the most generous offers; and even diplomatic individuals, of whom there were many at that time in the town, indirectly conveyed to me proofs of their attention. These circumstances enabled me to learn where the different members of the Emperor's family were to be found, and to enter immediately into communication with them, so as to adopt the speediest means of ameliorating the condition of him for whose sake I had resolved to exert every effort, and even to sacrifice my life.

On the other hand, I had laid down the rule of writing regularly, on a certain day, once every month to the Grand Marshal, in order to obtain such information as would enable me to render myself as useful as possible, and sent the letter

open to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with whom I had, by this means, commenced a correspondence, which I conceived to be best calculated to fulfil the object I had in view. I requested that he would send out regularly to Longwood the newspapers, pamphlets, new publications, and various articles of daily use which I specified, or which I begged he would himself select, to be paid for by me to his order: this he promised to do.

The Emperor's mother, brothers, sisters, and all his relations, though I was not particularly acquainted with any of them except Prince Lucien, immediately answered me in the warmest and most affecting manner. Mine were almost the first authentic tidings they had received from the illustrious victim; and they esteemed themselves happy in finding a channel, by means of which they could transmit to him testimonies of their respect, devotedness, and affection. They wished only to be informed what they had to do. An annual contribution of 150,000 francs was immediately determined on: this sum I conceived to be indispensably necessary for the establishment at Longwood. The amount was divided equally among all, and I already had in my hands the subscriptions of several of the parties, when I had the satisfaction of being enabled to return them, with the request that they might be reserved till a future time, as unforeseen circum-

stances would render it unnecessary to make use of the money for two or three years. The reason was, that there had been found a deposit of several hundred thousand francs belonging to the Emperor, and I esteemed myself happy in being thus early enabled to present to the members of his family a proof of the regularity and reserve with which I acted. But unfortunately I was too precipitate; for the money which had been promised and was to have been furnished by me, was, either through the mistake or embarrassments of the banker, or the negligence of agents, more than a year in being paid. I was very much vexed and disappointed by this circumstance, for the thirteen bills which I had left with the Grand Marshal on my departure from St. Helena, had been quickly paid away, and fresh drafts had been made on my banker, or on other individuals in London, who allowed the bills to be protested, because they had no funds belonging to me, or had received none from any other individual. This occasioned enormous expense, compromised Longwood, and afforded a subject of ridicule to the English ministerial journals.

As soon as I was made acquainted with this unfortunate circumstance, I wrote to London, to offer my personal security for any drafts that might come from Longwood, stating that they should be payable to order at Frankfort. To this object I appropriated in the most advan-

tageous way I could, the sum which I received from Madame Mère, and which was the only one that had not been returned, together with some money which a few friends had lodged in my hands when my own was exhausted; for my four thousand louis had been repaid to me in a way so singular, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it. An individual who stood in a very delicate situation, and who held money belonging to the Emperor, suspecting, though he knew nothing of me, that I might be in some degree of embarrassment, transmitted to me a hundred thousand francs. I could lay no claim whatever to the sum; but this the individual in question doubtless conceived to be his most prudent course, considering the peculiarity of his situation. Thus I found myself repaid without having claimed any debt or given any receipt, and I am not aware that there existed any trace of the debt due to the Emperor, in any account whatever.

Six months had already elapsed; the fine weather was set in; and my health, which had been so greatly impaired by disappointment and vexation, required me to make trial of the waters of Baden. But was I free to depart? The times were so extraordinary, and such a total disregard seemed to be every where manifested for the privileges and the destiny of a Frenchman, that many persons about me very much doubted whether I should be at liberty; and I was myself not without apprehen-

sion, so accustomed was I to see all justice violated in my person. Be this as it may, I was so desirous to act with perfect openness, and to evince my gratitude for the kindness of Baron Wessemberg, that I determined to acquaint him with my intention of departing, and to ask him whether he considered me under his inspection. However, the Baron in a moment banished all my scruples and fears, by replying, with the frankness and courtesy which characterize him, that in granting me hospitality, there had been no idea of making me a prisoner.

I accordingly repaired to Baden, where I had the honour of being received by the Grand Duke and Duchess, almost secretly it is true, but with those proofs of interest and attention which I might have expected from the adopted children of Napoleon. Their conduct was the more meritorious, since there were among the individuals of their court and confidential officers, certain inveterate enemies of the cause to which I had devoted myself, and who regarded as a kind of political scandal, the great interest which the exalted couple evinced towards me. I did not, however, abuse their kindness; for, amidst the bustle and gaiety which always prevails at Baden, which was this year remarkably thronged, I lived in perfect retirement and solitude, scarcely ever shewing myself, and scrupulously withdrawing from the curiosity so natural to the dissipated and the idle.

But this reserve and circumspection procured for me the honour of several interviews with the august individuals above alluded to, in which I enjoyed the inexpressible satisfaction of appreciating the full extent of their affectionate attachment to him to whom I had devoted myself. One of these interviews, from the singular circumstances under which it took place, would form a good incident for a romance. However, I shall say nothing of it, for many reasons. I am forced to be brief, and must pass rapidly over many circumstances, not only on account of the difficulty I feel in dictating, but also through the fear of exhausting the patience of my readers.

On taking my leave of the worthy Grand Duke, I requested that he would permit me to remain in his States, and I determined on fixing my residence at Manheim. I made choice of this place, because, like Frankfort, it afforded every desirable advantage for the continuance of my correspondence, while it presented none of the inconveniences of the latter city, which, from circumstances of a very delicate nature, I was anxious to avoid.

I seldom went out, and I did not abuse my liberty any more than I had done in the time of the Prussian Commissioner; but I thought it my duty to receive every one who came to me. I was perfectly aware that I should be likely to encounter enemies in the disguise of friends; but I also

knew that there were many persons, of all classes, who frequently came from a distance for the purpose of seeing me, and who were guided by sincere sentiment. But could I, for the sake of avoiding one betrayer, run the risk of wounding many honest hearts, who, amidst their sorrow and regret, hoped to obtain from me a few words of satisfaction and consolation? During my stay at Manheim, it would be difficult to imagine the singular questions that were put to me, and the hints and insinuations of every kind that were thrown out to me. One proposed to execute my most secret, hazardous, and remote commissions; another offered to become my mediator with distinguished and hostile individuals; and a third assured me that he would go in disguise to Parma, and deliver all my packets to the Empress Maria Louisa in person. In short, I know not what plans were suggested to me. I several times received, from natives of different countries, proposals for effecting Napoleon's escape. Some were excited by enthusiasm, some by speculation, and others were, no doubt, contriving snares; for the crime of instigation is now boldly and universally resorted to. Fortunately my guarantee was, that I had nothing to conceal. I possessed no secret, therefore I could only express hopes and wishes in reply to all I heard; and certainly, in the avowed situation in which I stood, the reports that might have been made from my conversation, could convey no

novel information. Accordingly, nothing of an unpleasant nature occurred. By making choice of Manheim, which is a retired place, and where I lived as privately as possible, I obviated most of the inconveniences I had met with at Frankfort, which was the resort of schemers and intriguers of every description. I also proved to those who were interested in observing me, that I was a stranger to all secret designs.

The period fixed for the meeting of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, was now approaching; and I formed the highest hopes from this august assemblage. These hopes were shared by every generous heart; for who could have imagined that the Sovereigns of Europe would have shewn themselves insensible to the misery of Napoleon, whom each, individually, had so long treated as a friend, a brother, or a son; particularly when they should receive a correct and faithful account of the situation in which he was placed? I had made every necessary preparation; being determined that they should be assailed by entreaties, and surrounded by information. I wrote to Maria Louisa; and I was charged to present to the Sovereigns a letter from Madame Mère; all the other relations of the Emperor having undertaken to act for themselves. I carefully collected for each of the Sovereigns, all the authentic documents existing, and drew up a note on the subject, enclosed in a letter addressed *to themselves.* I did not even neglect

Lord Castlereagh; to whom I thought it requisite to make the communication in his quality of representative of the King of England. I shall insert these documents, hoping that the reader will pardon the many repetitions that occur in them. They all relate to one and the same subject; this subject is reduced to its simplest expression; the circle is limited; and a recurrence to the same topic is unavoidable.

To the Empress Maria Louisa.

"Madame,—On my return from the place where your husband is perishing, what a tale of misery could I not unfold to you! But you are his wife, the mother of his son; what, then, can I say that will appeal to you more forcibly than the feelings that must naturally arise in your heart!

"I think it my duty to inform your Majesty that I intend, at the approaching assemblage of the Allied Sovereigns, to lay at their feet my humble supplications for a mitigation of the misery and cruel sufferings which are inflicted in their name, and which cannot be adequately conceived, except by a servant so devoted as I am, or a relative so near as yourself.

"But, Madame, what can be my claims, when compared with the sacred and all-powerful rights of your Majesty, which are held in veneration all over the world.

"Deign then, Madame, to exercise those rights; and posterity, history, which consecrate crowns, will encircle your brow with a diadem, as imperishable as your elevation of character, which subdues, and your gentle virtues, which delight the heart.*

"I am, &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

* This letter was put into the post at Vienna. I know not whether it ever reached its destination; but most probably it did not.

Madame Mère to the Allied Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle.

" Sires,—A mother, afflicted beyond all expression, has long cherished the hope that the meeting of your Imperial and Royal Majesties will afford some alleviation of her distress.

" The prolonged captivity of the Emperor Napoleon, gives occasion for appealing to you. It is impossible but that your magnanimity, your power, and the recollection of past events, should induce your Imperial and Royal Majesties to interest yourselves for the deliverance of a Prince, who has had so great a share in your regard, and even in your friendship.

" Would you suffer to perish, in miserable exile, a Sovereign, who, relying on the magnanimity of his enemy, threw himself into his power? My son might have demanded an asylum from the Emperor, his father-in-law; he might have consigned himself to the generosity of the Emperor Alexander, of whom he was once the friend; he might have taken refuge with his Prussian Majesty, who, in that case, would, no doubt, have recollected his old alliance. Should England punish him for the confidence which he reposed in her?

" The Emperor Napoleon is no longer to be feared. He is infirm. And even if he were in the full enjoyment of health, and had the means which Providence once placed in his hands, he abhors civil war.

" Sires, I am a mother, and my son's life is dearer to me than my own. Pardon my grief, which prompts me to take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Imperial and Royal Majesties.

" Do not render unavailing the entreaties of a mother, who thus appeals against the long series of cruelties that has been exercised towards her son.

" In the name of Him, who is in essence goodness, and of whom your Imperial and Royal Majesties are the image, I entreat that you will interest yourselves to put a period to my son's misery, and to restore him to liberty. For this I implore God, and I implore you who are his Lieutenants on earth.

" Reasons of state have their limits; and posterity, which gives immortality, adores, above all things, the generosity of conquerors.

" I am, &c.

" MADAME MERE."

This letter remained unanswered. Other steps were taken in favour of Napoleon, by different members of his family; but they were not made known in a way sufficiently authentic to authorize my mentioning them here.

Note addressed to the Allied Sovereigns, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 1818.

" Sires,—Royal Majesty has no judges on earth. But since sovereigns themselves, stripping it of its most sacred attribute, have subjected it to their tribunal, I come with respectful confidence to appeal to them in favour of a monarch whom they long recognised; but who is now deposed by them, a captive in their name, and presenting to the world the grandest and most terrible vicissitude that was ever witnessed. Who shall deem himself secure, if even inviolability be violated?

" Faithful to his dignity, superior to misfortune, he looks forward to death as the only termination of his misery. But I who have been unexpectedly torn from the fatal rock, where I rendered him every attention in my power, wish now to devote to him the remainder of a feeble life, and to endeavour to assuage the misery which I am no longer permitted to share.

" I have taken upon myself the sacred mission in which I am now engaged. I have been prompted to do so by my tender devotedness to the person of the Emperor, by my private affection for him who was my Sovereign.

" I am here a stranger to every political question. I have no other impulse, no other guide, than that sacred morality which is

alike respected by kings and subjects. It constitutes my strength, my right, and my excuse.

" Napoleon on his rock is a prey to torments and vexations of every kind; he is the victim of the ill treatment of men, and the insalubrity of climate. These facts are now notorious to all, and are sufficiently proved by authentic documents, transmitted from the place itself, several of which I now presume to submit to the eyes of your Majesties.

" If the law of war, if the law of nations, have been transgressed for the peace of the world, as it is said, the law of humanity at least cannot be extinct.

" For the last three years war has every where been succeeded by peace; passions are calmed; nations and individuals are reconciled; the hostility of governments and parties is disarmed; the common law of nations has resumed its sway; one man alone is excluded from these benefits. He alone is still without the pale of human law. He is exiled to a barren rock, exposed to an unhealthy climate, doomed to the misery of a lingering death, and is the daily victim of hatred and insult. When will there be an end to this extraordinary persecution? If he be doomed to live, this extraordinary treatment is too cruel! And surely it is still more barbarous if he be doomed to die! What is his crime? By whom has he been tried? By what tribunal? Who are his judges? Where is their right to pronounce sentence on him? Will it be said that the only guarantee, the only security against him, are imprisonment, chains, and death? Will it be said that his acts, his promises, and his oaths are not to be trusted? Will his return from the isle of Elba be mentioned as an instance of his bad faith? But at Elba he was a Sovereign: engagements had been entered into with him, and had not been kept! Now, by quitting the Continent, he has resigned all sovereignty, and declared his political career to be at an end. The case is now entirely altered. If the sacrifice of his life can alone appease hatred, and put a period to alarm, *why not inflict death openly?* (these are his own words;) *a speedy death, though not more just, would have been more humane, and less odious; it would be a*

favour. This is what he has himself repeatedly said and written. Who can deny the justice of the remark?

"What sufficient motives can still be maintained in justification of such intolerable treatment?

"Is it wished to punish his past invasions? But the invaded countries have forgotten their resentment in the triumph of victory, and they are now silent. Is it wished to make reprisals? But Napoleon was a conqueror, and did he act thus? What was his conduct at Austerlitz, at the bivouac of Moravia, at Vienna, at Tilsit, at the conferences of Dresden? Let him be viewed even in that circumstance in which history will have most difficulty in defending him. Charles IV. when a captive in the hands of Napoleon, had his choice of residing either in Compeigne, Marseilles, or Rome, always maintaining the dignity of a king. Ferdinand, at Valencey, was surrounded by all the attention and respect he could wish. A prince who disputed the throne with the Emperor fell into his hands. What use did Napoleon make of his victory? The immediate release of the prisoner attested his magnanimity; and history will compare this act with the indignities that are heaped upon the Emperor.

"Is it intended to renew for Napoleon the ostracism of the ancients? But the ancients, if they banished from among them the talents which they had reason to fear, did not sacrifice the victim. They did not transport him to another hemisphere, to a desert rock, and a burning climate. They did not, at least, render Nature chargeable with a crime, which, in the present case, it would seem, human hands dare not execute.

"Finally, is it feared that even the Emperor's name would have too powerful an influence in Europe? May not his enemies defeat their own ends? Persecution always excites interest, always moves the great mass of the people, who are invariably generous. If it be wished to create partizans, it is sufficient to make martyrs! Where, then, is the necessity for these extraordinary and singular measures? Why thus violate at once the code of nations, the code of sovereigns, and the code of private men?

"Among civilized nations fury is disarmed before a fallen

enemy, who is respected even among savages, particularly when he trusts to good faith.

" Why then persist in opposing the demands of humanity, justice, religion, morality, policy, and all the laws of civilization? Why not rather yield to the dictates of generosity, glory and true interest? The examples of kings doomed to misery and death have always been condemned by history: they are recollected with horror by subjects, and with dread by sovereigns.

" Since my removal from St. Helena, I do not personally know what changes may have taken place in the treatment of the Emperor Napoleon; but before my departure it was intolerable, both as regarded his personal dignity, and his moral and physical existence. Have those modifications at length been made which his servants so long and so vainly solicited? But the deadly influence of the climate, and all the horrors of the place of banishment cannot be changed. These circumstances in themselves suffice to poison all the sources of life. There is no dungeon in Europe that would not be preferable to Longwood, and there is no human being, whatever might be his vigour of body and strength of mind, who could, under such circumstances, long resist the effects of so terrible a prison.

" The victim is already seized with a disease that must infallibly, in a very short time, hurry him to his grave. The faculty have candidly pronounced this opinion, and, in the anguish of my heart, I presume to report it to your Majesties, trusting that your humanity and high wisdom will suggest a remedy.

" Surely I cannot be accused of a want of respect and devotedness to sovereignty. The testimonies which my life presents are my guarantee for now presuming to address your Majesties; as the consciousness of your interests, dignity, and glory, is the guarantee of my hopes and wishes.

" COUNT LAS CASES."

Letter to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, enclosing the above Note. (Addressed to the Emperor himself.)

"SIRE,—On the 10th of February last, I presumed to lay at your Majesty's feet, the wishes and entreaties of a faithful servant, in favour of his master.

"I hope your Majesty will forgive my perseverance, which may, perhaps, have the appearance of importunity. I now venture to lay before you another note, in favour of him who was your brother, and whom you made your son. I take the liberty of accompanying this note with some authentic documents.

"Sire, my hope and my apology rest on the many excellent virtues for which your Majesty is distinguished. Europe acknowledges and proclaims you to be the most sincere, moral, humane, and religious of men; and yet it is in your name that the tortures of a lingering death are inflicted on him, to whom you gave the hand of your beloved daughter; whom your own choice and religion have made your son.

"Ah, Sire! tremble lest his blood-stained coat should be presented to you! . . . And when the day of eternal judgment shall arrive, when the Supreme Judge of men and things, pronouncing his terrible decrees, shall ask, What have you done with your son? Why did you separate the husband from the wife? How durst you disunite those who had been joined and blessed in my name? I might award victory to whom I pleased; but none could take advantage of that victory to abuse my holy laws, without incurring my anger!

"But, Sire, I say no more: perhaps I have already gone too far. I crave your Majesty's forgiveness. These are the sentiments by which I am powerfully excited;—these are the complaints that are torn from me by the murder of my master, which has been perpetrating before my eyes. Sire, on my knees, I implore your interference, to prevent the crime of homicide. Be not deaf to my entreaties! I am, &c.*

"COUNT LAS CASES."

* A similar letter was addressed to the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia.

Letter to Lord Castlereagh, with a Copy of the Note addressed to the Allied Sovereigns.

" My Lord,—I have the honour to present to your Lordship a copy of a note, which I took the liberty of addressing to the Allied Sovereigns.

" I am induced to transmit this note to you, my Lord, on account of my profound respect for the august individual whom you represent, and the esteem I entertain for your Lordship's personal talents.

" Whatever may be your opinions, my Lord, respecting this note, perhaps even your objections to it, I am convinced your Lordship has too much generosity to condemn, wholly and without reserve, a servant, who is resolved, until the latest moment of his existence, to exert every effort for the relief and consolation of his Sovereign.

" My Lord, how great has been your influence on the destiny of that Sovereign! How great may it yet be! Why cannot my voice reach your Lordship's ear? In the anguish of my tedious solitude, I have frequently sought to discover the great motives which might have dictated your harsh and cruel determination. My mind dwells only on the interest of your country, the rigorous law of necessity, the conviction of the character and disposition of him, at whom you aim the blow; and finally, the glory and responsibility of your ministerial situation. Has your Lordship been able to combine together the whole of the contradictory circumstances? Have you exhausted every source of information? How I regret that the impaired state of my health and faculties does not permit me adequately to express my feelings and thoughts! They would perhaps make an impression on you, my Lord: perhaps many facts that I could relate, would excite your astonishment and serious consideration.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" COUNT LAS CASES."

The period of the meeting of the Congress having arrived, I went to Frankfort, and happened to reach that place on the very day on which the Emperor Alexander made his entry. This was no doubt a very favourable opportunity to solicit the favour of being presented to that Sovereign; and his well known affability, the facility with which he grants admission into his presence, and perhaps also the peculiar circumstances relating to me, were so many encouragements to the hopes of easily obtaining an audience, and I was consequently strongly advised by every body to attempt it. It was the surest way, they said, to accomplish the object I had in view, and I was much blamed for refusing to make the trial. But I had maturely weighed within my own breast the advantages and disadvantages of such a step, and I was far from sharing the general opinion as to the probability of its result. To what, had I said to myself, could such a high favour lead me? Could I expect to touch the heart of this Sovereign by my eloquence? And if my words had produced some effect upon him as a man, was not the final decision to proceed from the concurrence of many others? And was I certain in an interview of so little duration, and of so much embarrassment, to speak with as much method and precision as I could write? Was it right for me to deliver to him before the proper time had arrived, authentic documents, which I intended only for the Sove-

reigns assembled, as if it were an ordinary petition? And if the Emperor Alexander had happened to express himself in my presence respecting the Emperor Napoleon, in terms which I could not but have contradicted, as it was but too probable that he would express himself, might it not turn out that I had irritated and indisposed him instead of conciliating him? This latter consideration had chiefly led to my determination not to seek for an audience, which presented so many objections, and only offered one single advantage, and that one that was personal to me, viz., the signal favour of seeing the first of monarchs, and of conversing with him of whom Napoleon had said on his rock: "If I die here, he will be my "heir in Europe."

Besides, the Emperor Alexander knew that I was at Frankfort. I was told that he had mentioned it in one of his circles, and I was almost certain that he had been spoken to about me. The circumstance from which I obtained this information is singular enough to be mentioned here. My room at the hotel where I had alighted happened to be next to that of one of his generals, who possessed his intimate confidence, and who was admitted into his presence at all times. The second or third evening after my arrival, the master of the hotel came into my room to inform me that the General was ready to receive me, and that he would have much pleasure in granting me the in-

terview which I had asked for. In the first moment of surprise, my immediate answer was to bid him go and say that it was a mistake; but suddenly reflecting that this was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, brought about by the intervention of Providence, I ran after the man who was already delivering his message, and explained myself from the door of the apartment, that there was probably some error, since I had not the honour of asking such a favour; upon which the General ran towards me as if to detain me, and dismissing his Aide-de-camp, said to me with an air of affability and politeness, that whether it was through mistake or not, he should be happy to avail himself of this opportunity to become acquainted, and have some conversation with me. And we then had a very long conversation together, and, as it will be easily believed, wholly relating to St. Helena.

I had only come to Frankfort to deposit, in due form, all my documents in the respective legations; and that done, I returned immediately to Manheim, in order to escape from the bustle and from the intrigues of Frankfort. Several persons came thither and offered to serve me at the Congress, assuring me that their services might be of very great importance, and proposing to become very zealous agents in my affair. For this assistance, I should of course have been obliged to pay very largely, and it has been seen that I had scarcely wherewith to supply the first wants of him for the uncertain

interests of whom large sums were demanded of me. During the sitting of the Congress, and whilst I was waiting in the hope of a favourable decision from the Sovereigns, I was destined to receive, even in my solitude at Manheim, fresh proofs of the perverseness of Sir Hudson Lowe, and of the ill treatment which he continued to inflict upon his victims. An unfortunate gunner of an East Indiaman found me out at Manheim, and about the same time I received a large packet from General Bertrand. The history of the gunner and of all the vexations to which he was exposed from the Governor and his confidents, for having been the bearer of a bust of young Napoleon, from which he hoped to derive some advantage, by offering it at Longwood, is detailed at some length in Mr. O'Meara's work. This bust, which the Governor had at first intended to throw into the sea, and the existence of which he afterwards attempted to conceal by taking possession of it, under pretence of making a present of it to Napoleon himself, was, however, at last sent to Longwood, in consequence of the expression of public indignation; and Count Bertrand sent to the gunner, as well for the value of the bust as to indemnify him for all the vexations and losses which it had occasioned to him, one of the bills which I left with him at my departure, amounting to 300*l.* Count Bertrand on sending the bill to the gunner, requested him to acknowledge the receipt of it; but the poor fellow,

so far from being enabled to acknowledge the receipt of the bill, had not even heard of Count Bertrand's letter, and had been obliged to pursue his voyage to India, after having delivered the bust, with the following verbal information given to him by Sir Hudson Lowe: "That the people of Long-" wood had destined some gratuity to him, and that " he would hear of it in the course of time." On his return from India, the unfortunate gunner was not allowed to go on shore during the whole time the ship stayed at St. Helena, and he was merely told once more, that what had been mentioned to him concerning his interests was at the Admiralty in London. When he reached England, he at last, upon inquiry, got the bill; and it was the first time he had heard of it; but upwards of eighteen months had elapsed, the persons on whom it was drawn no longer had the necessary funds, and he was obliged to leave London with the melancholy persuasion that he had lost both his bust and his money. This gunner was an inhabitant of Dalmatia, and was going through Germany on his return home, by way of Trieste, when he heard, by the greatest chance in the world, at Frankfort, that he should find at Manheim, the drawer of the bill which he held; he therefore came to me, and his joy was as lively as his imprecations against Sir Hudson Lowe were abundant, on receiving that sum which, as he said, was a little fortune for him, and would render him happy for the remainder of his life.

The large packet which I received from the Grand Marshal, consisted of a long letter from him, written by order of the Emperor, and of sundry authentic documents which had arrived out of the regular channel. But to my great surprise, the very day when I received that letter, I read its contents in the Netherland newspapers, as extracted and retranslated from the English papers. Guessing what had been the intentions of Longwood, I nevertheless sent an official copy of that letter to Lord Liverpool, as will be seen presently. I insert here all those documents, because Count Bertrand's letter, giving a rather detailed account of the ill treatment which the Emperor experienced since the moment I had left him, lays before the reader a further period of eighteen months of the history of Longwood. Some of these documents, besides, have postscripts in Napoleon's own handwriting, and are too remarkable to be left unnoticed.

Letter of Count Las Cases to Lord Liverpool.

"My Lord,—I have this instant received a long letter from Count Bertrand; and at the same moment, to my great surprise, have seen that letter printed in the *Vrai Liberal*, of Brussels, retranslated from the *Morning Chronicle* of London.

"To inform your Lordship how that has happened, is beyond my power; but I can assure you, with great truth, that it is without my participation, and that I sincerely regret the circumstance. I can only explain it, by supposing that one of your countrymen only consented to take charge of the packet from Longwood, upon

condition of receiving it open, and being assured that it concerned the honour of his country; and that on his arrival in London, he communicated its contents to the public, and forwarded it to me at the same time. Things would not have been so, my Lord, if, agreeably to my continued solicitations, I had obtained permission to reside in England. Persuaded as I am, and as Count Bertrand seems to suspect, that the atrocious vexations, and the indignities, which are daily inflicted upon Longwood, may be unknown to the Administration, it would have been to you, my Lord, who are at the head of that Administration, and to you alone, that I should immediately have applied to inform you of such unheard-of grievances; thus furnishing you the means, and leaving to you the merit of redressing them.

"I entreat your Lordship to believe that it would have been only after I had in vain exhausted every step required by decorum, after I had, in vain, applied, in the order of their rank, to the different authorities, that I should have adopted the extreme measure of addressing myself at last to public opinion, which will only be appealed to and pronounce in the last instance. I gave a proof of this disposition, my Lord, when, after eight months of absolute silence on the part of Lord Bathurst, to the statement which I addressed to his Lordship, of various grievances, of which I had the honour of asking redress at his hands, and which I should, at least, have been justified in publishing, I did not however do so, until some ill-timed observations of one of your Members of the House of Commons, rendered it a matter of positive necessity. I gave a proof of it, my Lord, at the period of the earnest entreaties, which my heart prompted me to make at Aix-la-Chapelle, when I carefully transmitted to Lord Castlereagh himself, a copy of the solicitations and complaints which I respectfully laid at the feet of the Allied Sovereigns. Lastly, my Lord, it is to give, as much as lies in my power, an additional proof of that disposition, that I hastily cause a copy to be made of the letter of Count Bertrand, in order that your Lordship may possess direct and authentic knowledge of that document, and lay it before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"A prey to bodily sufferings, caused by the insalubrious climate of St. Helena, as well as the moral sufferings by which my separation has been aggravated; the deplorable state of my health is such, that every kind of application is forbidden to me by the faculty. I cannot, therefore, add any thing to the letter, of which I have the honour of addressing you a copy. Besides, what commentary could equal the bare recital of the facts which it contains?

"I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, my Lord, &c.

"P. S.—After having addressed your Lordship on the subject of interests of so high and sacred an importance, may I be allowed to take advantage of the opportunity thus naturally afforded, to descend to the consideration of objects that are merely personal to me?

"Am I not to expect any redress, or to obtain any answer concerning the numerous grievances of which I have complained? Am I, above all, to continue to be deprived of the papers which have now been detained at St. Helena two years, notwithstanding the many protestations which I made to Sir Hudson Lowe himself; notwithstanding the letter which I had the honour of addressing to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on that subject, from the Cape of Good Hope; the letter which I wrote to one of your colleagues from the same place, and on the same subject; and, lastly, notwithstanding the letter which I addressed to Lord Bathurst from Frankfort? Can this obstinate and absolute silence, to demands so just and so often reiterated, be intended as a formal denial of justice? I cannot believe it, my Lord. I know the power and superiority of your laws, and the respect which every Englishman is bound to shew to them, whatever his rank or situation in life may be; and I must therefore suppose that the fault arises with me, who, not knowing how to act, transgress, in all probability, the established rules and formalities. But, in that case, my Lord, would it not be proper, just, and considerate, to inform me of those rules, or even to sup-

ply the non-observance of them?—My Lord, I demand that favour of your generosity. Those papers, which I allowed Sir Hudson Lowe to peruse at the time, are, from their nature, entirely foreign to the object of the custody of your prisoner; they cannot be of any importance to you in that point of view; and to me, they are dear and invaluable beyond all expression."

Letter from Count Bertrand to Count de Las Cases.

"My dear Las Cases,—I received, on the 7th of June, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 15th of January last; and I have since then received, on the 13th of this month, your letters of 15th February, 15th March, and 15th April;* the contents of which I have communicated to the Emperor, and which have determined him to desire me to write to you. I received four months ago, a box of books and pamphlets, addressed to me by Mr. Goulburn; nd since then, a very obliging offer to send a picture, which was in the room at St. Cloud, on the subject of little Napoleon's christening. Mr. Henry Goulburn had been kind enough to bargain with the owner of the picture for its purchase, and to get the price reduced to half the original demand. It has not, however, been thought proper to answer that offer, because it has seemed to form so strange a contrast with what takes place here, that it has been looked upon as a measure connected with parliamentary discussions, something like those relative to the wooden house. I have been much struck by the polite behaviour observed towards you, and by all you tell me in your last letter.† . . . Can it be, that the horrible vexations that we are made to experience, are not sanctioned by the English Government, and that the Emperor is dying here a victim of the individual hatred of the Governor? Governments and Princes may be so easily deceived, that I write this letter under strong feelings of doubt on the subject.

* See those letters in the sequel of these pages.

† Experience seems to have proved too clearly that there existed more knowledge of mankind at Longwood than in the correspondent of Frankfort.

" Things are much altered since your departure in 1817. And in this year, 1818, the vexations to which the Emperor has been exposed, are such, that they must be considered as an attempt against his life. You will judge by the detail. You must have read in the papers of March, some observations upon the speech of Lord Bathurst. But things have grown considerably worse since then; and the hatred of the Governor of this Island has known no bounds.

" When you left us, the Emperor had renounced riding, in order to avoid the snares laid for him, and the affronts intended for him, by causing him to be insulted by the sentries. He has since been obliged to give up walking, in order to avoid the same inconveniences. During the months of March and April, the Emperor went out sometimes to call upon my wife, and sometimes he would sit upon a certain bench, which you know, about fifty paces from the house, and where he would stop half an hour or an hour. But means have been found to prevent him from doing that, and to oblige him to confine himself strictly to the house. They knew that this was not very difficult. A soldier of the 66th regiment was placed as gardener, and a serjeant had been stationed at my house. Both were very useful, either in rooting out weeds, which might poison the air, for no garden can exist in such a situation; or in repairing the house, which is in a ruinous state, and admits water whenever it rains. That arrangement appears very rational; but the Governor had invested these two soldiers with a right to stop whomsoever they thought proper, even at the doors and under the very windows of the Emperor. From that moment he has not stirred out of the house, and one hundred days have now elapsed since he has even put his head outside of a window.

" This climate, this absolute want of exercise, added to the badness of the habitation, have affected his health to that degree that you would not recognise him. Since the end of September, 1817, he has had the first symptoms of a chronic hepatites, which, as you know, is mortal in this country. He had to attend on him, the worthy O'Meara, in whom, you know, he has confi-

dence; but, in the month of April, at the moment when he was most in want of his cares, Sir Hudson Lowe obliged him to tender his resignation, wishing to force the Emperor to have Baxter, whom you also know. The Emperor has refused to see any doctor; from the 10th April to the 10th May, he had none. At last, the Russian and Austrian Commissioners, indignant at this treatment, informed the Governor, that if the Emperor were to die under these circumstances, they themselves should not know what to say, should an opinion prevail in Europe that he had been murdered. This seems to have determined the Governor to reinstate the Doctor; but he has subjected him to every species of ill treatment, He attempted to get him expelled from the mess of the 66th regiment; and, as these brave officers refused to share in so arbitrary an act, he himself caused an order to be given to the Doctor, through the Colonel, to cease to dine with the officers of the 66th. He has written to London, and it is probable that O'Meara will be sent away. The Emperor will not, however, receive any other doctor; and if the Prince Regent, or Lord Liverpool, do not take cognizance of the fact, he will die here of his disease, dsprived of even the assistance of his physician. The Emperor has, however, been very ill for the last two months. He rises at eleven o'clock in the morning, and goes to bed again at two o'clock p. m. A few days ago, he experienced a very violent crisis, produced by the mercury which Dr. O'Meara administered to him for a pain in the liver. Dr. O'Meara was alarmed at his responsibility, and proposed to me to send for Mr. Baxter and the surgeon of the *Conqueror;* they are the two first medical men here. You know the dislike which the Emperor had to Mr. Baxter, founded upon his having been formerly Staff-surgeon of the Italian division commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe. That dislike has much encreased since, in consequence of his having lent himself, from October, 1817, to March, 1818, to the production of bulletins filled with falsehoods, and which have deceived his Government and all Europe. But the Emperor did not see any inconvenience in O'Meara's calling in Mr. Stokoe, although he did not much like it; and that gentleman

consequently came to Longwood at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, but would not go into the Emperor's apartment, fearing lest he should compromise his responsibility, and lose a situation obtained after forty years' service. That appeared to me so extraordinary, that I would not believe it. I therefore spoke to him, and he expressed his regret at not being able to comply with our wishes; for he is a very respectable man. His refusal is, however, easily explained; it proceeded from a hint that had been given to him, in the same manner as had been done to Cole, the banker, whom you know. Having some money matters to settle with him, I sent for him; but, on arriving at my house, he declared that he could not speak to me but in presence of the officer on duty, because he should be ruined if he did. Of course I refused. The same thing happened, a few days since, with a Mr. Fowler, arrived from England, with whom I had an account to settle, of a few hundred pounds, for clothes ordered in London. It is true that you are not acquainted with the situation in which we are now placed, and which cannot be compared to what it was in your time. It was even then sufficiently unpleasant; and knowing the Emperor as you do, you ought to have strenuously opposed the idea of any member of his family coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, and the hatred to which he is exposed, would be altogether unbearable for him, if his mother or any of his brothers were to share in it. Even to Count Montholon and myself, who are now the only two with him, he has often said that he wished us to quit St. Helena, to free ourselves from such a treatment, and to leave him alone; and that his agony would be less bitter, if he did not see us share in it. You know that the officers had long since discontinued to come to my house; but when we met them on the road, they would very politely stop and speak to my wife: this has now been forbidden to them, not in writing, it is true, but by hints; so that it has often happened that when they have seen us at a distance, they have gone out of the road.

"Things have come to such a pass, that our dirty linen remains several days, to be examined by the Captain on duty, and

sometimes by the Staff; a most indecent proceeding, and most dishonourable for them, but the object of which is to degrade and insult us.

" In the month of June 1816, a store-ship brought out a marble bust of young Napoleon: Sir Hudson Lowe ordered the bust to be thrown into the sea. This he has since denied; but we have the fact judicially attested; for the act disgusted Lady Malcolm, who was still at St. Helena, as well as all the captains of store-ships that were on the island.

" Since that time, in February last, the *Cambridge* store-ship brought out two prints of young Napoleon, which had been bought in London: Sir Hudson Lowe purchased them under pretence of presenting them to the Father, and when the officers heard, a month afterwards, that it was, on the contrary, to keep them from him, they could not contain their indignation that an Englishman should have been guilty of such conduct.

" The British Government cannot be ignorant of all these proceedings. If what the Emperor said here to Lord Amherst has been repeated in London, if Captain Poppleton, whom you know, and who was the officer on duty during two years, has been questioned, if Colonel Nichols of the 66th regiment, and Colonel Fehrzen of the 53d regiment have been questioned, as well as many others, it must be known to what unworthy treatment we are exposed here.

" If there be in Europe some enemies of the Emperor, who would have approved the conduct of the British Government if they had taken away Napoleon's life, openly and publicly, on board of the Bellerophon, there is not one who will not some day cover with imprecations and opprobrium and disown those who adopt such cowardly means to attain that end.

" How are we to reconcile all this with what you write to me? perhaps by the supposition of a correspondence filled with falsehoods, and artfully managed. However, we on our side have for the last two years complained openly and loudly; and the criminal conduct pursued here must be known in London.

" You will be surprised to hear me speak of the French,

Austrian, and Russian Commissioners who are here. We never saw them during the time you were with us, and to this day they have not yet seen the Emperor, nor called upon us. But we have frequently met them on the roads within our limits, which is a way of seeing each other sufficiently ridiculous. Though the Emperor does not acknowledge them as Commissioners, he has never refused to receive them as strangers.

" With respect to the Governor, the Emperor has not seen him since the month of April, 1816: you are aware of the reasons which induced him not to receive him, after the insults which the Governor had offered to him.

" This being the case, if Sir Hudson Lowe seeks to be revenged; such a proceeding, though inconsistent with a generous mind, can be easily explained. But how can Government have continued, during two years, to repose its confidence in a man who has so strangely abused it?

" I therefore earnestly request you, in the Emperor's name, to inform his family and relations of the situation in which he is placed; and peremptorily to require that none of them will encrease his sufferings by coming to share in them.

" You tell us that the English Government has subscribed for us to the Morning Chronicle; but the same thing happens with this paper as with the Times; it is sent to us after those numbers which it is thought proper to conceal from us have been previously withdrawn. Thus we have had some numbers of February and some of March, but all those that it was their pleasure to withdraw have never been sent to us. Not to have a regular series of a newspaper is worse than to have none.

" How could any book be sent to us? since as soon as a storeship comes out, the Governor immediately purchases all the books they have brought out, particularly French books, in order to prevent our buying them.

" With respect to the pamphlets, which you announce as sent to us, we only received one box of them on the 12th March, from which we conclude that probably the remainder have been kept.

" I have read this letter to the Emperor, who has approved of its contents, but has thought that I had very feebly expressed the baseness of the conduct observed towards him. He desires me to send you two notes written by himself, which will give you the whole of his opinion respecting the officer to whom the superintendence of this country has been intrusted. The calomel which the Emperor has taken has not hitherto had any beneficial effect on the liver, and has produced other ailments.

" Accept, my dear Las Cases, the assurance of affectionate feelings which I entertain towards you.

" COUNT BERTRAND."

" P. S. During the few days that have elapsed since this letter was written, many things have happened which will prove to you that our situation, far from improving, as you seem to suppose, is daily growing worse.

" You know that Captain Mackey of the 53d regiment, had been succeeded at Longwood, as officer on duty, by Captain Poppleton of the same regiment, and that Poppleton, at his departure, had been succeeded by Captain Blackeney of the 66th, who, like his predecessors, enjoyed a most excellent reputation in his regiment. This latter officer already thought, on the first days after his arrival, that the Governor required of him some acts unworthy of a man of honour; but as the number of those objectionable acts had greatly increased since that time, he at last ardently longed for the expiration of his year of service in that degrading post, in order to have nothing more to do with it. It is known that he declared confidentially to his friends in the regiment, that it was impossible for a man of honour to continue in that post without losing his own esteem. It may be also that Sir Hudson Lowe was not satisfied with the avowed sentiments of Captain Blackeney; but be that as it may, on the 20th of this month, an officer who had been sent out to take the command of the militia, and whose former connexion with Sir Hudson Lowe is known to you, the only one out of the whole of the Governor's staff whom the Emperor refused to see, came to instal

himself as officer on duty, and with him, under various pretences, another officer, so that we had two instead of one. It appears that some rooms and articles belonging to Government, which had been given in common between the officer on duty and Doctor O'Meara, have occasioned some violent contentions between them.

" On the 22d I sent the protest marked A* to the Governor, who sent me a challenge by the officer alluded to. It was beneath my character and my situation to provoke Sir Hudson Lowe, but on this occasion I thought proper to address to him the letter marked B.*

" On the 24th, he sent Doctor O'Meara away from Longwood, by virtue, he said, of an order from Lord Bathurst, as you will see by the Governor's letter to Count Montholon, marked C,* to which Count Montholon answered by the letter marked D.*

Doctor O'Meara, you know, was attached to the Emperor instead of his own physician, by a decision of the Council, and in consequence of a special demand to that effect, addressed by me to Admiral Keith; he could not therefore be taken away from the Emperor but by an order in Council. If such an order exists, why are we not made acquainted with it? Certainly neither the Council nor Lord Bathurst would have removed from the Emperor the physician of his own choice, without having previously supplied his place by another in whom the Emperor had confidence; they would have felt the responsibility attached to such a step.

" But if even there had been an order in Council, it would not justify the Governor; for that order, given under ordinary circumstances, could not be carrried into execution at the moment when the Emperor was seriously indisposed. It never can have been intended that his physician should be taken from him in the midst of his attendance in the case of a disease of so serious a nature, and which threatens his existence; particularly as since the month of April it has been demanded, that if it were intended

* See these letters in the following pages.

to take Dr. O'Meara away from him, another physician should be sent out from Europe in his stead, in whom the Emperor should have confidence. The answer to this demand must arrive before three months are elapsed.

" I conclude, my dear Las Cases: my heart is broken.

" BERTRAND."

First Note, written by the Emperor, on the back of Sir Hudson Lowe's Letter, dated 18th November, 1817.

" This letter, and the letters dated 24th July and 26th October last, are filled with falsehoods. I have shut myself up in my apartment for eighteen months, in order to shelter myself from the insults of this officer. My health is now impaired, and will no longer allow me to read such disgusting documents; send me no more of them.

" Whether that officer considers himself authorized by verbal and secret instructions from his Minister, as he has given us to understand that he does, or whether he acts of his own accord, which might be inferred from the care which he takes to act with disguise, I cannot treat him but as my assassin.

" Had they sent out to this country a man of honour, not only I should have experienced fewer vexations, but they would have saved themselves many reproaches from Europe and history, which the farrago of writing of this crafty man will not deceive.

" NAPOLEON."

" *Longwood, 23d November*, 1817."

Second Note, inserted in the margin of Sir Thomas Reade's Letter to Count Bertrand, dated 25th April, 1818.

" 1.—I told you yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not know its contents, and that you were not to translate it to me, since it is not conformable to the forms adopted for the last three years.

" 2.—This fresh insult only dishonours that coxcomb. The King of England alone can treat with me on a footing of equality.

" 3.—This crafty line of conduct has however an object: to prevent you from disclosing *the criminal plot which has been carried on for the last two years against my life.*

" 4.—It is thus that, while they appear to open a channel for complaints, they in fact close every avenue.

" 5.—Thus, with the appearance of a wish to provide me with a house, and after announcing a building for the last three years, I am however still in this unhealthy barn, and no building is begun.

" 6.—It is thus that, whilst it appears that I am at liberty to ride on horseback, indirect means are resorted to to prevent me from doing so, and from taking exercise. The want of which is the first cause of my complaint.

" 7.—The same means are resorted to, to prevent me from receiving any visit. It is necessary for them to veil themselves in darkness.

" 8.—It is thus that after having attacked my physician, after having obliged him to tender his resignation, not wishing to be a passive instrument and deprived of all moral independence, he is nevertheless kept under arrest at Longwood, in order that it may be believed that I have the benefit of his attendance, when it is well known that I will not see him, that I have not seen him for the last fortnight, that I never will see him as long as he is not set at liberty, and freed from the oppression under which he is placed, and until he has regained his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

" 9.—It is thus that a false representation is made by causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and does not know the state in which I am, nor the disease with which I am affected; but that does very well to deceive the Prince and the people of England and Europe.

" 10.—A ferocious joy is manifested at the aggravation of sufferings which this deprivation of medical assistance adds to my protracted agony.

" 11.—Demand that this note be sent to Lord Liverpool, as also your letter of yesterday, and of 13th and 14th April, in order that the Prince Regent may know my * * * * * * * * and may cause him to be brought to public punishment.

" 12.—If he does not, *I bequeath the opprobrium of my death* to the reigning House of England.

" NAPOLEON."

" *Longwood, 27th April*, 1818."

DOCUMENT A. *Protest addressed to the Governor, on the 22d July*, 1818.

" IN the name of the Emperor Napoleon, I am enjoined to protest,

" 1.—Against all violation of our enclosure by servants, workmen or others, whom you would secretly invest with public authority.

" 2.—Against the insults offered to Dr. O'Meara to compel him to leave this place, and against the obstructions, either public or secret, which you have opposed or may oppose to Napoleon's being assisted in his illness by the advice of some medical officer in whom he may have confidence, who may be accredited in the service of his Britannic Majesty, or known to practise publicly in the island.

" 3.—Against all testimonies, reports and writings of the the militia officer Hyster, who is only placed at Longwood to be an instrument of hatred and vengeance.

" COUNT BERTRAND."

DOCUMENT B. *To the Governor Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Longwood, 23d July, 1818.

" SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you a letter which I have just received. The old man appears to me to be out of his senses. He can have no knowledge of my official correspon-

dence but by your orders. I have not answered him, and shall not do so. He is only a subordinate agent, and if his principal, a general officer, wishes to demand satisfaction of me, I am ready to grant it.

" I have the honour to be,

" COUNT BERTRAND."

DOCUMENT C. *The Governor to Count Montholon.*

Plantation House, 25th July, 1818.

" SIR,—I do myself the honour to state to you, for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte, that agreeably to the instructions which I have received from Lord Bathurst, dated 16th May, 1818, I am directed to remove Mr. O'Meara from his situation near the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, and that I have accordingly given orders for him to leave Longwood immediately. Rear-Admiral Plampim has received, at the same time, instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty to remove him from this island. Lord Bathurst's instructions further direct, that after Mr. O'Meara's departure, I am to order Dr. Baxter to attend upon Napoleon Bonaparte, as physician, whenever he is requested to do so; and that I am to inform him that he is to consider the health of Napoleon Bonaparte as the chief object of his attention. On communicating this arrangement, I am strictly enjoined to state, at the same time, that if Napoleon Bonaparte has any reason not to be satisfied with the medical attendance of Dr. Baxter, or if he prefers any other physician of this island, I am quite ready to acquiesce in his wishes in that respect, and to allow any other medical practitioner whom he may select, to attend upon him, provided he strictly conform to the rules established and now in force.

" Having given Dr. O'Meara the orders for his departure, I have furnished Mr. Baxter with the necessary instructions, and he will be ready to repair to Longwood at the first summons. In the meantime, until I am informed of the wishes of

Napoleon Bonaparte on this subject, I shall order a medical officer to be stationed at Longwood, to be ready in case of emergency.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" HUDSON LOWE, Lieut.-Gen."

DOCUMENT D. *Count Montholon to the Governor.*

" SIR,—Dr. O'Meara quitted Longwood yesterday, being compelled to leave his patient in the midst of the course of medicine which he was prescribing for him; that course has ceased this morning. From this morning a great crime is in progress ! ! ! Nothing remains to be added to Count Bertrand's letters of the 13th, 24th, 26th and 27th April last. The Emperor will never receive any other physician than Mr. O'Meara, because he is the physician attached to him, or than the one who might be sent from Europe to him; in conformity with the letter of the 13th of August, which has been already mentioned.

" I have communicated the letter you addressed to me yesterday. What I have now the honour of writing to you is the substance of the reply I have been desired to transmit.

" I have, &c.

" COUNT MONTHOLON."

*Letter of Count Bertrand to His Eminence Cardinal Fesch.**

" MY LORD,—The Sieur Cypriani, the Emperor's steward, died at Longwood, on the 27th of February last, at four in the afternoon. He was interred in the Protestant burial-ground of this island, and the ministers of their church have observed on this occasion

* We have thought it right to insert here this letter, because it affords additional details respecting the interior of Longwood, and adds new features to all that has been said of its real situation.

the same rites that they would have performed for one of their own persuasion. Care has been taken that in the extract from the register of deaths which I shall send to you, though this paragraph of my letter might answer the purpose, it should be stated that he died in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church. The minister of the church of this country would willingly have attended the deceased on his death-bed; but the latter was anxious for a Catholic priest; and as we have none, he appeared to have no wish to see a clergyman of any other religion. I should be glad if you would let us know what is the law of the Catholic church upon this point, and whether a Catholic on his death-bed may be administered by a minister of the church of England. We cannot, however, sufficiently praise the proper feeling and the zeal which were evinced on the present occasion by the clergy of the island. Cypriani died of an inflammation in the bowels. He expired on a Friday, and had attended his duties on the preceding Sunday without having any presentiment of his approaching end. A child of one of Count Montholon's servants had died at Longwood a few days before. A waiting-woman died some days ago of the same complaint. Such is the effect of this unhealthy climate, in which few men live to an old age. Liver complaints, dysentery, and inflammations in the bowels, carry off many of the natives, but a still greater number of Europeans. We felt upon this occasion, as we feel every day, the want of a minister of our own persuasion. As you are our bishop, we wish you would send us out one, either a Frenchman or an Italian. You will, in that case, select a man of instruction, under forty years of age, and especially of a mild disposition, and not imbued with antigallican principles.

" The steward's duty has devolved upon Mr. Pierron, of the household, but he has been very ill; and, though convalescent, is still in a bad state of health. The cook is in a similar condition. It would be, therefore, necessary that either you, or Prince Eugene, or the Empress, should send out a steward and a French or an Italian cook, taken from amongst those who

have been in the Emperor's service, or who may still be in the service of his family.

" Your Eminence will find annexed: 1.—The papers found in M. Cypriani's portfolio; 2.—A brooch which he was in the habit of wearing, and which I have thought it right to send home for his wife; 3.—An account of all that is coming to him, amounting to 8,287 francs, or 345*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* sterling; 4.—A bill of exchange in favor of his heirs, for the settlement of that account. The Emperor, knowing that his son is under your care, and that his daughter is with Madame, only delays securing an annuity to both his children, until he shall have been informed of the fortune left by Cypriani, who appears to have funds in Genoa to a rather considerable amount.

" I will not afflict you by dwelling upon the state of the Emperor's health, which is not satisfactory. It has not, however, become worse since the hot weather. I hope you will keep these details concealed from Madame. Give no credit to the false reports that may be circulated in Europe. Consider as the only fact that may be relied on, that for these twenty-two months past the Emperor has only quitted his apartment occasionally, though very seldom, in order to pay a visit to my wife. He has hardly seen any one, unless it be two or three Frenchmen who are here, and the English Ambassador to China.

" I beg your Eminence will present my respects to Madame, and to the individuals of her family, and accept the homage of the sentiments with which I have the honor to be, &c.

" COUNT BERTRAND."

*First Letter of the Count de Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.**

" I am going to devote to you the first moment that I can command. It is now upwards of a year since I quitted Long-

* It has been thought necessary to introduce here the following letters of Count de Las Cases; 1—Because they are alluded to in the preceding letter

wood; and during that time, what troubles, what cares, what misfortunes of every kind have I not had to contend with!!! I leave it to the newspapers to give you an account of my tribulations. I shall avoid in my letters every expression, every subject that might afford a pretext for their being withheld from you. I will promote, by all means in my power, the only object I have in view, which is, that you should receive from me the proofs of a devotedness that will occupy every instant of the remainder of my life. I have but too present to my mind, the consolation and happiness that I derived when in your company, from European recollections, not to give all my attention to the object of procuring you that kind of consolation: Oh, my dear companions! who will henceforth engross my thoughts of every day, and of every moment! I am, therefore, writing to you on the first instant of freedom that I enjoy from personal restraint; and regularly every month, on the same day, I shall at least give

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from Count Bertrand, and help to complete the sense and understanding of it; 2.—Because they evince the candour and good faith with which this correspondence with Longwood was carried on; 3.—In short, because they enable the reader to give its due value to the extraordinary assertion of Mr. Goulburn, who, whilst he received these letters, and acknowledged with courtesy the receipt of them, nevertheless ventured to affirm in the House of Commons, on a certain occasion, that the author's expressions were always clothed in language admitting of a twofold interpretation. How can a man of candour, such as the person to whom the aforesaid letters were addressed, who had received, and must have read my letter to Lord Bathurst particularly, take upon himself to assert that the author's expressions were always given in language that admitted of a double interpretation? Surely, Mr. Goulburn must be very fastidious in point of explicit and positive meaning, or else he does not understand French. But has he read? Has he misunderstood? Did he wish to misunderstand, and, in imitation of Lord Bathurst, may he not, like his noble patron, on the occasion of his famous denials to Lord Holland in the House of Peers, have founded his arguments not upon what really existed, but upon what appeared to his advantage? The communication of these letters is made chiefly from the necessity of enabling every one to judge of the degree of credit which is due to Mr. Goulburn's assertion. That they were not intended to be made public, is sufficiently evident from the careless and unaffected style in which they are written.

you this token of my incessant anxiety for you. Obstacles, perhaps, over which I shall have no control, may prevent your receiving my letters; but as far as regards me, death alone can make me fail in my promise; and here I appeal to the feelings of those who, being intrusted with the censure of my letters, might fancy that they found in their expressions some motives for intercepting them. I beseech them to let me know of any involuntary deviations on my part that might appear reprehensible to them, in order that I may avoid them for the future. The necessity and the consolation of domestic sentiments cannot be prohibited by public morality; and such are the only sentiments which I shall endeavour to gratify in writing to you.

"I have just obtained the asylum in Austria, which I demanded, as soon as I found that my liberty was in danger. I shall repair to Lintz so soon as the wretched state of my health will allow me to undertake the journey. The headaches which first attacked me at the Cape, are daily encreasing in violence, and give me much uneasiness. I shall avail myself of the free intercourse which is henceforth allowed to me, in order to procure some exact information respecting all those that may be dear to you. To-day I can only give you such information as I have been able to collect indirectly.

"My wife, who, by the greatest good fortune, was refused permission to go out to St. Helena, at the very moment when I was leaving it, and who came to meet me upon the high roads, where I was carried about like a bale of goods, is now on her return to Paris, from whence she will bring back the rest of my children. She will enable me to afford you some details in my next letter concerning your family, and those of Montholon and of Gourgaud.

"I have been able to ascertain that H. M. Maria Louisa enjoyed excellent health in Parma, and that nothing can exceed the health and beauty of her son, who is at Schœnbrunn. The Countess de Survilliers is detained here by the very infirm state of her health; she occasionally receives news from her husband, who is quite well, in America. Both her daughters are

also well. The eldest bears a striking resemblance to the august head of the family. Princess Borghese, Madame, the Emperor's mother, Prince Canino, Cardinal Fesch, and Prince Louis, are at Rome, and in the enjoyment of excellent health; the remainder of the family, Princess Eliza, Count de Montfort, and Princess Murat, reside in various parts of Austria. I hope that in time I shall be able to send you more direct and positive details. I feel the most bitter regret that I was not able to land and fix my abode in England. I am deprived of the means of procuring and sending immediately whatever I might have thought calculated to afford you some trifling diversion upon your horrible rock. This is a religious duty imposed upon me, which I have solicited, and shall continue every day to solicit the British Ministers to allow me to fulfil. My constant endeavours to persuade them upon that point, will not allow me to despair of success. Nevertheless, however far I may be from the spot, I shall not fail to attain so sacred an object, by the assistance of some intermediate person; only you will receive the results of my cares and of my efforts in a less complete manner, and at a later period.

" Be careful all of you of your health; live for the consolation, the affection, the happiness, and the wishes of those who admire and love you.

" I received, upon my arrival at Dover, a letter from you, dated the 22d July, and one of the 29th from Sir Hudson Lowe. They acquainted me with what was unknown to me until then, that you had received the few articles I had sent to Longwood from the Cape; that you had received the document which was handed to me by you, and which I had returned, respecting the money which at my departure I had presumed to lay at the feet of the Emperor, and of which I was so happy as to procure the acceptance. Sir Hudson Lowe informs me, that all the bills relating to this affair, which I had left in your hands, have been negotiated. I hope they have been duly honoured. I know not yet myself the state of my affairs. I have not yet had it in my

power to write a single line to my agent in London, or to receive any news from him.

" I regret much that I have not in my power, and at my command, the narrative of the Campaigns of Italy. That distant epoch, already removed from the politics of the present day, possesses henceforth all the merit of history. It is anxiously wished for. Science, and the contemporaries of that period claim it. I should deem myself fortunate, if that work were confided to my care; and in case you should procure that favour for me, I shall instantly take the means of taking advantage of it without delay, by at once inquiring in London, what are the previous formalities that would be required, both in England and at St. Helena, in order that I might receive that manuscript. I shall request that the reply that will be made to me, may be likewise transmitted to Sir H. Lowe, in order that you may judge whether there would be no objection on your part to do what might be required of you.

" Write to me, dear General, in your turn, by every opportunity; give me all the commissions that may occur to your mind, whether serious or trifling, easy or difficult, it matters not. Be well persuaded, and constantly bear in mind, that I live only for you and through you all. My body alone has left your rock.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Letter of Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, Under Secretary of State, upon forwarding the above Letter to him.

Frankfort, 26th January, 1818.

Sir,—My wife has informed me of the extreme kindness with which you have, on different occasions, transmitted accounts to her at Paris, of myself and of my son, and in the name of Lord Bathurst. Be pleased to accept the expression of my thanks, and of my gratitude for this proceeding.

" If, as I am given to understand, you have, under Lord Bathurst, the direction of the affairs of St. Helena, may I be al-

lowed to request you would guide me upon certain points relating to my correspondence with that island.

" Might I solicit of you, in the name of all those sentiments that dwell in a humane and feeling heart, that without departing from our own regulations, you would second my religious intentions, to afford some consolation and some attention to the sufferings that are endured in that Island.

" Might I request that you will obtain from Lord Bathurst that he would inform me whether I may be allowed to transmit to Longwood such books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other objects, as I may think would be acceptable there; and in case of an answer in the affirmative, that you would be pleased to point out any person you might wish to name, for selecting and purchasing them in London, as I would take nothing more upon myself than to pay the amount to your own orders.

" If in the open letters which I intend to address to you for St. Helena, you should perceive the most trifling phrase of a dubious import that may give you the least uneasiness, may I request you will take upon yourself to erase it, as I now give my consent to your doing so, in order that there may not arise any delay in their transmission; and that you will be so good as to communicate the objections to me, that I may not run the same risk on a future occasion.

" You may read, Sir, in the letter which I have the honour to send you this day for Longwood, that I therein ask for a manuscript (*the Campaigns in Italy*), which is quite foreign from the politics of the present day, but is precious for history and for science. In the event of its being confided to me from Longwood, might I obtain the favour of you to procure its being forwarded without loss of time, by prescribing forthwith to Sir H. Lowe the formalities that would be requisite, on both sides, to ensure its being transmitted to me.

" I am aware, Sir, that in the midst of your many occupations what I presume to ask may occasion to you an increase of trouble. Still I am not without hope from the sanctity of the motives which impel me to ask, that my request will be granted.

You will thus confer upon me the most lively and sincere obligation. It is with the view of being as little importunate as possible, and thereby giving a greater facility to the attainment of my wishes, that I have thought it right to address myself to you, Sir, in preference to Lord Bathurst. And in so doing I hope I have not transgressed the rules of propriety; it would be quite innocently and against my intentions.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Second Letter of Count de Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.

Frankfort, 26 *Jan.* 1818.

"Faithful to my promise, I write to you after the lapse of one month, and on the same day on which my first letter was dated. I have at heart to record the identical date, so that you may depend upon its never being passed over without my addressing you. Some passages, however, in my letter may perhaps be written subsequent to its date, owing to the silence of Madame de Las Cases, whose letters I was in daily expectation of receiving from Paris. It is now about a month since she left me. She proposed calling upon all your relations, and upon those of Generals Gourgaud and Montholon. She was to send me the most circumstantial details respecting them. To my great surprise I have not heard from her, and as I do not wish to delay any longer writing to you, I am under the necessity of postponing to next month all the particulars, which I am quite certain she will have collected with as much zeal and as much care as I could have done myself.

"I have the satisfaction to know that my first letter has been forwarded to you: I had enclosed it in one to Mr. Goulburn; his answer has just reached me. I acknowledge with real pleasure that it is filled with expressions of kind consideration, and is in all respects satisfactory; this leads me to hope that what had hitherto taken place proceeded from mutual misunderstanding.

" He assures me of the readiness that will exist at all times to forward my letters to you, so long as they shall be of the same nature as the first, and not liable to any greater objections. He adds, that conformably to my request, the books and pamphlets I may point out will be sent to you. He offers to procure them, and to superintend himself their regular transmission, taking care to remit to me from time to time a note of their cost, in order that I may settle the amount. He informs me that in case the Emperor shall think proper to confide to me the *Campaigns in Italy*, Sir Hudson Lowe is forthwith to receive instructions to transmit them to England, from whence they will be forwarded and delivered to me in the manner that may be desired at Longwood, after taking such cognizance of them as may be deemed necessary. Lastly, he apprizes me, that my papers which were seized in the Thames had been instantly sent back to me unopened; and that if I had not yet received them, which is still the case, accident alone could have occasioned the delay.

" I am therefore in hopes that you will receive some publications with this very letter. I am unfortunately at a great distance and unpleasantly situated for selecting them, and for procuring them while new; but I will immediately write to London to remedy this inconvenience. I likewise hope, that by the same opportunity I may be able to send you many things of which you stand in need, or that may prove acceptable to you; and others that may be of essential service to the Emperor's health.

" Her Majesty Maria Louisa is quite well, and still resides in Parma. Her son, from a late account given by a person who had seen him at a juvenile ball, is remarkably handsome, and is the delight of all Vienna. Such were the expressions used. He dances admirably well, and is passionately fond of that amusement.

" All the members of the Emperor's family have evinced the kindest and most affectionate interest towards me. They have loaded me with offers and good wishes. I shall fortunately have it in my power to afford you regular accounts of them every month.

" Prince Jerome has caused me to be assured that his offers

of service would know no other bounds than those of *impossibility*. He has given an asylum near his person to the worthy and virtuous Planat, who, after our separation on board of the *Bellerophon*, was tossed about by storms, and on the point of perishing on the coast. Princess Hortense informs me that she has suffered much persecution; but that if the torments inflicted upon her have originated in the tender and respectful devotedness which fills her heart, they are a source of pride and of happiness to her.

"Whenever my health will allow me, I go to pay my respects to Princess Joseph, who is confined to the most absolute retirement, and chiefly to her bed, by the bad state of her health. We talk of St. Helena. Our thoughts traverse the seas; those are happy moments for us. Her daughters are quite well; her husband, from very late accounts, was likewise well. He had taken under his care two of the Emperor Napoleon's servants, which the British government had thought proper to retrench from the establishment of Longwood.

"Prince Lucien gives me an account of all those of the family who are assembled in Rome. Madame, Cardinal Fesch, Princess Borghese, and Prince Louis are all in the enjoyment of good health, and unite in wishes and prayers for the health and preservation of their august relative. As for Prince Lucien, he says he is happy in Rome; he has just provided advantageously for his three daughters. Yet his mind and his heart are incessantly directed towards St. Helena. He can no longer reconcile himself to the idea of seeing his brother languishing and dying in his exile. He desires I will candidly tell him whether the Emperor would be as happy to see him as he himself would be to appear before him; and conformably to his desire I write to the British Government by the courier who bears this letter, to request they will allow him to proceed to St. Helena, and to reside there a couple of years or for life, if his brother does not send him away, with or without his wife and children; his wife wishing to share in the honour of his exile: and further, to state that he will engage not to occasion any augmentation of expense,

either for himself or for his suite, and that he will submit to the same restrictions that are imposed upon his brother, and to any others that it might be thought proper to impose upon him personally, either before his departure, or after his return.

"I cannot refrain, my dear General, from again requesting you will ascertain if the Emperor would intrust to me the *Campaigns in Italy;* you might next forward to me those of Egypt in their turn. They are both real treasures for the learned world and for history, quite foreign to the politics of the present day, and consequently not liable to any objection. I have written to London to convey the Countess Bertrand's thanks for the friendly recollections that were so kindly expressed towards her, and the amiable attentions that were shewn to her children. If I had had it in my power to remain in England, I should have endeavoured to find out upon the spot some articles that I might have thought acceptable to the ladies. At this distance I can command nothing beyond my good wishes; they are very sincere towards them, and towards you all, my dear companions. The fatal rock is ever impressed upon my heart.

"I am still far from being well; my headaches are daily increasing; the physicians are at a loss to give an opinion upon the subject. May God deign to preserve my health, for the service and benefit of those who are dearest to my heart. I embrace you all affectionately. Take care of yourselves, and may you enjoy good health; it will be my reward, and the reward of your friends, who love you as I do.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Letter of Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing the above.

"Sir,—I am this instant favoured with your letter. I am truly grateful for the satisfactory reply which it gives to every point in mine, and for the personal marks of kindness and attention you are pleased to evince towards me.

" I send you a second letter for Longwood. You are perfectly right in what you observe to me concerning the documents of the Campaigns in Italy, when I was still in St. Helena. I beg you will offer my thanks to Lord Bathurst, for the instructions he has given to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order to remove any difficulty in the transmission of those papers, in the event of the Emperor Napoleon being pleased to confide them to my care.

" I am going to write to London, to desire that a note may be handed to you of the books and pamphlets which I should wish you would have the kindness to forward to Longwood. I am too much out of the way to be able to select them in time. At all events, if the first opportunity that offers for St. Helena did not afford sufficient time to allow of this note being delivered to you, may I request you will take the trouble of sending off at once the last pamphlets written by De Pradt, Fiévée, Benjamin Constant, Chateaubriand, those upon the Concordat, &c. &c.? Will you also add to them such English publications as you may think most recent, and possessing greatest merit? Will you have the further kindness to subscribe to the *Journal du Commerce*, for the establishment at Longwood, provided however they do not already receive a French newspaper since my departure; and also, at your choice, to any of your opposition papers? the Courier and the Times being common in the island, were lent to them. I shall most punctually repay the amount of your disbursements, and only request you will not allow these small debts to run up too high, nor draw upon me for their amount at sight. I have no funds at my own disposal, those that I have been fortunate enough to offer and to see accepted, not having yet been returned to me. I am therefore compelled to apply to the purse of others and of every body: *I beg for Belisarius.*

" Encouraged by the kindness of your *official* answer, and in the hope also of finding you disposed to oblige, I shall so far extend my requests as to beg you will be kind enough to include in the number of articles which you will send out to Longwood, some things which I consider likely to contribute to the comfort of the prisoner of Longwood, or essentially necessary to

his health. Would you be kind enough, for instance, to procure some pounds of the best coffee that can be found in London, and a certain quantity of the best *vin de Bordeaux* that exists? I know by experience, with reference to the last article, that it was possible to get it on the spot, out of the cellar of the growers themselves, at the rate of six or seven francs, which was superior to all that the trade could supply. I should attach some value to the possibility of procuring something of the kind. I can assure you, Sir, with perfect truth and without the least feeling of animosity and ill humour, that it happened but too frequently that the wine presented to Napoleon was not drinkable, and that most of the articles destined for his use were of the same description. You will the more easily understand this, when you reflect that the articles of provision supplied to us were furnished by *contract*. Your Government disburses the necessary sums no doubt, but you are too well acquainted with matters of business not to be aware of the abuses and inconveniences connected with the furnishing of supplies. My intention in alluding to this, is not to bring forward a fresh subject of complaint, I merely give vent to the effusion of the moment. I sent from the Cape some Constantia wine; it was found good, and was relished at Longwood. Will you be kind enough to order some more to be sent on my account. Another article, which I should very much wish to procure, is some of our Provence oil of the best quality purchased on the spot; we never had any thing of the kind given to us that was not quite disgusting. The want of *Eau de Cologne* was also felt very much, which habit had rendered necessary to health.

"I am aware, Sir, that I am taking the liberty of entering into details which are quite inconsistent with your sphere of life; and I can hardly conceive how, with the best intentions in the world, you will be able to superintend the execution of my requests. Yet the mere dictates of humanity, the most trivial feelings of attention and kindness seem to be sufficient to establish a right to such indulgences. It was in order to obviate all these difficulties, and at the same time to satisfy every claim, that I so strenuously

solicited the permission to fix my abode in England. The objects to which I presume to call your attention would have been my sole and constant occupation. And I should have fulfilled it scrupulously; reliance might have been placed in me upon that score, I should have been faithful to all that I had promised. And what inconvenience could have resulted from granting the permission to bestow such innocent care and marks of attention, and which are so natural? What name on the contrary might not be justly given to the cruel interdictions which have been pronounced? Could they be maintained? I still solicit and am anxious to obtain a relaxation in my favour, that is in favour of humanity. I live at Frankfort as if I were yet under *surveillance;* I scarcely leave my apartment more than I should have done were I really so; and I should have lived at London in the same manner.

" I shall now conclude this long letter, Sir, by requesting you will lay before the Minister, the demand which Prince Lucien Bonaparte has instructed me to address to him, to be allowed to proceed to St. Helena to reside there two years, with or without his wife and children, engaging that he and his suite will not contribute in the least degree to occasion any augmentation of expense, promising to submit to every restriction imposed upon his brother, and offering to submit to any restrictions that might be imposed upon himself personally, either before his departure, or after his return.

" The information which you are kind enough to give me concerning my papers seized on the Thames, is the first word that I have heard upon the subject since I was deprived of them. I have requested the British Minister resident here, to have the goodness to claim them at Berlin, where they seem to be forgotten. I assure you that their absence has been to me, and is still, the occasion of a great deal of inconvenience and serious injury.

" I have the honour to be, Sir, with sentiments of the highest consideration, &c. &c.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Third Letter from Count de Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.

Frankfort, March 15, 1818.

"I EXPERIENCE a certain pleasure, my dear General, in writing my third letter to you, from the thought that my first must now be very near reaching you. I hope my second is already on its way to St. Helena, although I am not fortunate enough to be certain of it. A great many publications were to be sent out at the same time, and I am going to transmit a note of some others to be sent with the present letter.

"I have just heard from my wife, who is on the point of quitting Paris to come with my children and reside with me. She informs me that she had seen the family of General Gourgaud, and had given to them all the details which she had heard from me concerning himself and your establishment at Longwood. His mother and his sister are both very well, and send him the assurance of their most affectionate love and good wishes. Your family, Grand Marshal, was in one of the provinces, and for some time past no news had been received from them. With respect to the family of Count Montholon, Madame de Las Cases has not been fortunate enough to meet with any body belonging to it. I hope to be able in my next letter to speak of your friends, notwithstanding they are away from the capital.

"All the members of the Emperor's family are quite well. I have heard of every one of them since my last, and shall hear every month so as to be able to transmit regular information to you. They all follow him with their good wishes, and live only for him. Most of them had been hitherto entirely deprived of any information respecting him, and the little that I have been enabled to tell them, has therefore proved most valuable and dear to them. To satisfy their interest and their affection, which are both natural, I shall request the British Government when they receive news from St. Helena, to allow me to receive the intelligence of the state of the Emperor's health; it is a favour

which I shall request in the name of a numerous family, and I hope it will not be refused to the sentiment which dictates it.

" Prince Jerome has done me the honour to inform me, that the conditions attached to the permission of corresponding with his august brother, and his profound veneration for him whom he acknowledges as his second father, have alone prevented him from having the happiness of writing to him, and laying his existence at his feet. If the situation of the Emperor be not improved next year, he proposes to ask permission of the British Government to go to St. Helena with his wife and his son, supposing that such a voyage could not be opposed by any reasonable objection. The Queen his wife, to whom nothing is foreign that is noble and elevated, is inspired with the same sentiments, and expresses the same wishes.

" Cardinal Fesch also writes to me in the name of Madame and in his own, requesting me to observe, that being the only two whose attention is not divided by individual ties, arising out of the consideration of a family, and the fear of exposing it to inconveniences, I must apply to them in preference for every thing that can contribute to alleviate in any way the horrible situation of the Emperor.

" Countess Survilliers, whom I have the honour of seeing very frequently, and whose wishes are incessantly turned towards St. Helena, is in a very indifferent state of health. She suffers very much, and even occasions some uneasiness. The princesses her daughters, are quite well.

" I have just received, at last, my papers which had been seized in the Thames. They have reached me after four months of useless rambling, and of daily privation to me. Fatality alone can have occasioned the delay, for they have been returned to me unopened.

" I long very much to hear from you, and to receive your commissions. Unfortunately, the distance is so great, and the communications are so irregular, that I shall have yet to write for some time. Ask me for every thing you want; until then I

am reduced to guess. You will soon receive that part of the Moniteur which you have not. I write this day on the subject.

" I have at last received a letter from my agent in London. He informs me that he has honoured my bills, which I am happy to hear. But he also informs me, that he has received besides from you two other bills, which he has been under the necessity of refusing for want of advice or authority from me. I am sorry for this. Since I have left you, I had not been able to communicate with him. I have immediately answered his letter, directing him to remedy the evil as far as it lies in his power. He does not however give me any particulars respecting those bills.

" My health is still as indifferent, not to say much worse. I am quite disheartened by it, and the more so, as the season is getting very fine, and this circumstance does not however produce any beneficial change to me. That is the reason why I remain at Frankfort, being placed in the centre of a great number of mineral springs, where the physicians intend to send me.

" Receive for yourself, Grand Marshal, and for my dear companions, the expression of my wishes, and of all my sentiments. The colony of Longwood occupies and fills every moment of my existence. Take care of yourselves. Such is the wish of those who love you. I daily hear it expressed for you all. There are here, or in the neighbourhood, several of the banished; some were particular acquaintances of yours. They love and venerate you.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Letter from Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing the preceding.

Frankfort, 27 March, 1818.

" Sir,—I have the honour to send you my third letter for St. Helena. I have this moment received the papers which had been taken from me at Dover. They are sent to me without having been opened, and I feel grateful for this kindness. It had, however, never entered my mind to think of opposing their examination; and my letter to Lord Sidmouth, which was un-

fortunately published against my will, will prove the truth of this assertion. I am sorry that the obstinacy and the mistaken zeal of a subordinate agent, should have given rise to this circumstance, which has occasioned me four months of inconvenience and daily privations.

" I must not omit, Sir, to point out to your observation a circumstance, which may perhaps have escaped you. You did me the honour to write to me on the 12th February. Your letter was delivered to me by his Britannic Majesty's Minister in this city, on the 28th of the same month; and in the Times, of the 2d March, there is an article, containing the sense, and almost the very words of your letter, which, it is therein asserted, that I had communicated. But, as I could not have forwarded that letter to London in twenty-four hours, I need not justify myself to you, Sir, against the charge of any indiscretion; it is enough for me to put you in possession of the fact, and to abandon its details to your calculation, assuring you that I attach too much value to what you are kind enough to transmit to me, to give publicity to it in any way.* I owe that consideration to the kindness you have shewn towards me, and to the respect which I entertain for you.

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* The fact here alluded to, deserves to be related, if not for its importance, at least on account of its inexplicable singularity.

The letter of the Under Secretary of State, dated 12th February, was delivered to Count de Las Cases at Frankfort, on the 28th of the same month, by the British Minister in that city, and the Times of the 2d March, printed about twenty-four hours afterwards, contained the following paragraph :—" A private letter from Frankfort on the Maine, informs us that Count Las Cases is treated there with the greatest attention, and that he is under the special protection of the Ministers of Austria and England. The Count has even very lately shewn a letter from the Under Secretary of State, in which, amongst other obliging offers, he is authorized to send, through the medium of the Colonial Department, all the books, pamphlets, and newspapers, which General Bonaparte might demand. This circumstance naturally suggests the following question :—*Does the British Government consider Count Las Cases as the Chargé d'Affaires of Napoleon in Europe?*"

Now the substance of the article relative to the Under Secretary of State, is exact and true, even to certain expressions. Count Las Cases is, undoubtedly, not bound to justify himself against the charge of an act of indiscretion, that

" I request, Sir, that you will subscribe, for the establishment at Longwood, to the *Minerve Française*, and to continue to supply them with the new publications, both French and English, which you may consider to possess some interest.

" Cardinal Fesch writes to me from Rome, that he has twice offered his collection of the Moniteur, for the establishment at Longwood. They have already at St. Helena, as far as 1807; it is, therefore, only from 1808, until the present year, that is wanting. If you have any objection to send out those years, transmitted by the Cardinal, would you, at least, allow them to replace those that you yourself would have selected and sent out? Motives of economy, dictated by circumstances, oblige me to venture to make this proposal to you.

" All Napoleon's family unite in requesting me to entreat you, Sir, in the name of sentiments the most affectionate and most natural, to have the extreme kindness to inform me of the state of health of their august relative, each time that you shall receive the intelligence officially. This is a favour which we all ask of you, and which, I trust, that your heart will not refuse to grant to the wishes of so many persons, who will feel most grateful for it. I am aware, Sir, that each time I have the honour of writing to you, it is to address fresh importunities, or to cause you fresh embarrassments; but I assure you, from the bottom of my heart, that it is against my will, and that I should feel extremely happy in being enabled to relieve you from this trouble. This naturally leads me to ask you, with a view to the interests of humanity and

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could have forwarded his words, in twenty-four hours, from Frankfort to London; and, in order to have guessed so precisely in this article, the despatch of the Under Secretary of State must have been opened on its way from London to Frankfort, or even at London; or else the information must have been surreptitiously obtained from the Secretary's office. These arguments are unanswerable; and in that case, by whom can it have been done? how and why was it done? and what could be the object of the article alluded to?

This is not, however, the only example that exists of the intimate connexion between certain articles of the newspapers, and the confidential correspondence of Longwood. We are quite ready to produce them, supported by proofs quite as incontestable.

of our mutual advantage, whether you can inform me, not in your public capacity, but as a private individual, if I am to give up all hopes of going, some day, to England, there to fulfil the sacred duty to which I have piously devoted the remainder of my faculties and of my days. If I could entertain the least hope of being allowed to do so, I should, from to-morrow, begin again to apply officially to Lord Bathurst for permission; but if I must definitively abandon that hope, I shall carefully avoid taking a step which would only have the effect of giving rise to observations, and again bringing forward bitter complaints, which it is my disposition to avoid as much as possible.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

Fourth Letter from Count Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.

Frankfort, 15th April 1818.

"Madame Las Cases has continued her inquiries respecting your family and that of the gentlemen. I have myself written direct. The answers have been forwarded to me through my *valet de chambre*. I have learned that your family were well and undisturbed. The sister of General Gourgand has written me a very agreeable letter, full of tenderness for her brother. As to my third attempt, strongly repeated, it produced only absolute silence. You will find, M. Grand Marshal, my details very barren. It is not my fault: I write to you every thing I can. You will do wrong to judge, by my want of matter, of all my cares and incessant exertions.

"I continue to receive news of all the members of the family of the Emperor. They are all well in health. His son continues a fine boy. The Empress, they write me, is very thin. I have lately seen a person of the household of the Princess Murat. He was specially charged to describe to me her tender solicitude for her august brother, her devotion and her wishes. I have received a letter from the Princess Elisa, full of the same sentiments. They all live only to think of him whom

they hold so near at heart, who loaded them with kindnesses, and now absorbs all their sentiments. The Princess Elisa resides at Trieste. She informs me, that she has written five times to Saint Helena. The Cardinal writes to me, that on his side, they have written very often from Rome. I have received an answer from London to the request which I had made, and of which I informed you in my last, for leave for Prince Lucien to visit his august brother. The answer has not appeared sufficiently explicit for me to send it to you before I have a new explanation.—Prince Jerome, who talked of making a like attempt next year, has not been able to postpone for so long a time a step the success of which would delight his heart. He is going to address himself to the Prince Regent, for permission for himself, his wife and son, to undertake the voyage immediately.

" The Cardinal has given me a very full account of all the members of the family settled at Rome. The Princess Hortensia enjoys tranquillity at Augsburg, where she is occasionally visited by her brother. She is occupied with the education of her second son. She has had the eldest with her several months, who has developed, during his short visit, all the qualities which honour, attach, and interest. He has returned to Rome to his father, who is settled in that city. I hope that my first letter has reached you before this ; and I reckon the days and hours that will bring me your answer, because then I shall know more particularly what I can do to be agreeable to each of you. Be assured that I and mine only live for this ; and that death itself could not interrupt the course of my efforts for that purpose. I shall have provided a successor. Let me then know all your wishes. Nothing will be impossible to my zeal, to the affection and devotion of those who assist me.

" I have received a very polite answer from London respecting all the articles which I desired to be sent to your address. They assure me that they are going to send you the several pamphlets which I mentioned. They have ordered, they tell me, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Journal du Commerce*, that of Paris, which they say is the best. As for the rest, upon this point, as

upon every other, write to me your wishes. Tell me every thing that may give pleasure to the establishment.

" As to provisions, wine, coffee, oil, &c. which I mentioned in my letter, they answer me that they had sent you a considerable supply, and of the best quality: they have sent me the list. They add that Lord Holland had sent a quantity, at the request of the Princess Borghese: they have sent me a list of that also.

" My health, unfortunately, is still very deplorable: I see no amendment. The physicians insist that I shall entirely abstain from business.—I am going to take the waters somewhere. I shall most probably inform you, in my next, of my departure from Frankfort. I have had an opportunity of seeing here several of the banished who have found a temporary refuge in this city or its vicinity. They flatter themselves daily with their speedy recall. Public opinion demands it, they are told. It is thought that about the end of the year all the French will be at liberty to reside in France. I have, however, myself, been a stranger to the severity exercised towards them. Madame Las Cases, on her return to Paris, received from old friends a great deal of advice, and many offers on my account. They pressed forward in the most obliging manner to offer their services and their influence; but she has constantly answered that in reality I wanted no assistance, and it was not my intention moreover to put the kindness of any one to the test; that I had voluntarily banished myself for a holy and religious ministry; and in fact I shall no more have a country, Monsieur Grand Marshal, as long as you shall be where you are, and there shall remain a single chance that my efforts, my devotion, and my zeal, may be able to afford you any useful or agreeable consolation—until then I shall be a wanderer in the world. I shall carry about every where, if it must be, my atmosphere of sorrow and zeal. On your part keep me in your remembrance, give me the consolation of imagining that our thoughts cross each other, and sometimes are interchanged. Patience and courage are the virtues of heroes. Who knows better than I that they belong to you all? Adieu—I embrace you.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"P. S. I have written to them to send you the *Minerve Française*; a new work, in great repute, which has succeeded the *Mercure* and the *Bibliothèque Historique*, of which so much has been said. I expect my wife every day. The moment she arrives, I shall send my son to travel. He is of an age to finish his education. He requests that you and Madame Bertrand will accept the expressions of his gratitude for the kindness you have always shewn him."

Letter from Count Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, addressing to him the preceding.

Frankfort on the Maine, 26th April 1818.

"Sir,—I thank you very much, and with sincere gratitude, for the punctuality with which you have been pleased to answer my letters, and the details into which you have condescended to enter. I hope that at the present hour the several publications which you have mentioned to me will have been sent off for Saint Helena. I request that you will please to add to them the *Minerve Française*, all that has appeared and shall continue to be published, of that work; the same with regard to the *Bibliothèque Historique*. And, once for all, I pray you to give orders to your bookseller or correspondent, that you may comprise in the parcels and without any further direction from me, every thing remarkable which may appear, French and English, whatever may be the contained opinions.

"I thank you for the account you have been pleased to give me of all the supplies of necessaries, which have been sent off for St. Helena; and the two lists (1 and 2), which you have had the politeness to add to it. I shall take the liberty of requesting that you will be pleased to add by the first opportunity, some bottles of liqueurs of Martinique, but *real*. Impositions are often practised in this article. You will pardon this petty detail; you know how happy I should esteem myself in saving you the trouble by executing it myself; which leads me naturally to mention with what impatience I await your answer to my last letter upon this latter subject.

"You inform me, Sir, that if Prince Lucien Bonaparte desires to leave Italy, he must address himself to one of the Ambassadors of the great Powers at Paris. May I further request you will let me know, if, having obtained it, he may flatter himself that your Government will permit him, in compliance with his request, which I have had the honour to transmit to you, to proceed to St. Helena.

"Accept, Sir, the sincere expression of the high consideration, &c. &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

Fifth Letter from Count Las Cases, to General Count Bertrand.

Frankfort on the Maine, 15th May, 1818.

"I would write to you this day, my dear Bertrand, merely to be punctual and faithful to the date which I have invariably prescribed to myself, every month, for giving you my news. No change having taken place in my situation, I could only repeat, word for word, the matter contained in my last. I hoped to have been able to send you my letter from another place; but very violent pains in my eyes, which have aggravated my other complaints, have hitherto prevented me from setting out for some of the warm baths in the south of Germany, to which I shall repair, however, in a few days.

"I have the satisfaction to learn that my preceding letters have been regularly despatched to you, and that a great many pamphlets have been sent off. I wish they may amuse you. Unfortunately I provide for you a little in the dark;—The circumstances of locality will be my excuse; I do my best; I am in a bad situation for that. Such a case as mine would require a capital.—I am not permitted to reside in London; and in Paris I could not accomplish my purpose. The same distance prevents me from thinking of sending you a great many little things with which I might employ myself if I were upon the spot. I had thought of completing for you a little chemical apparatus but renounced it. I understand it would be useless to you.

" All the relatives of the Emperor are well, and await with impatience the regular course of your letters, of which they entertain no doubt, as you will have received my first; with my invariable resolution to send you theirs every month punctually.—My wife will rejoin me in a few days, to part no more I hope.

" Adieu, accept my wishes.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

Letter from Count Las Cases, to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing to him the preceding.

Frankfort on the Maine, 19th May, 1818.

" I HAVE the honour to thank you for the kindness with which you have been pleased to inform me of the departure of my letters for St. Helena, as also of that of the pamphlets and journals with which you have been pleased to accompany them.

" I am sorry you should have found it necessary to preserve silence, upon certain points in my last letter. My discretion will know how to interpret that silence. I owe it to the personal kindness which you have hitherto shewn me, not to return to the subject any more. I have written to M. the Cardinal Fesch, agreeably to a passage in your letter, that he may send by the way he shall think most proper, the sequel of the *Moniteurs*, reckoning from 1808, addressed to the office of Lord Bathurst in London; that his Lordship allows their transmission to St. Helena.

" As to the passage of your letter, Sir, concerning the request which I had the honour to make to you, for a regular bulletin of the health of Napoleon in the name, and on the behalf of the members of his family, may I be permitted to pray you will observe to my Lord Bathurst, that the whole of the family of the Emperor are not at Rome; that he has one sister and her family at Frankfort; a brother and his family in Austria; two other sisters and their families in the vicinity of Vienna and Trieste; without reckoning others, all of whom would esteem it the greatest favour, and would consider it a real gratification to their heart, should the sentiments which induced Lord Bathurst to send

regular accounts to Rome, induce him condescendingly to allow of their being regularly transmitted to them also. I was not ignorant of the gratification which had been hitherto procured for the Princess Borghese; but it did not extend from Rome to all the members of the family in Germany, where the route was then much more circuitous than that which I had the honour to request. Whatsoever title and right my heart might give me, perhaps, to solicit for myself a part of this bulletin, I shall learn to renounce entirely and put myself completely aside; and not doubting but that the favour will be more highly appreciated by those for whom I solicit it, if it should come directly from Lord Bathurst, rather than pass through my hands, I shall solicit therefore anew, and in the name of the Countess of Survilliers (the Princess Joseph Bonaparte), who resides in this city, that he will have the goodness to send to her regularly the same accounts which he has the goodness to address to the Princess Borghese at Rome. The Countess of Survilliers will undertake to communicate them to all the family in Germany.

"Sir, I have learned from the public journals, the unexpected return of General Gourgaud. This sensible diminution of the household of Napoleon, this new privation of one servant more, penetrates my heart, and has determined me to pray that you will please to request of Lord Bathurst to allow me to return to Saint Helena, accompanied by my family. This intention and this desire will never forsake me, as his Lordship may convince himself in the whole of my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, from the moment of my quitting the colony. I do not think it would be necessary to demand the previous consent of the Emperor Napoleon to this request, because I dare flatter myself that his answer would not be doubtful. However if Lord Bathurst should deem it necessary, I entreat his Lordship will make the demand himself: he will see in my letter to Longwood I have abstained from mentioning this circumstance. Considerations of delicacy, which his Lordship will know how to appreciate, have restrained me. The deplorable state of my health will be no obstacle. I am ambitious to go and find a tomb at the feet of

him whom I venerate, and to whose cares I shall find it sweet to consecrate the last breath of my life.

"Accept, Sir, the expressions of the perfect consideration, &c.&c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

I lost not a moment, on the receipt of the documents sent by Count Bertrand, in despatching a copy of them to each of the Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. I took this opportunity to renew my entreaties. I implored them to succour the illustrious victim. "A few days more," said I, "and "it will be too late." The physician whom they had snatched away from him, (an Englishman,) declared publicly in London that a much longer residence upon that unwholesome rock would cause his death. I ventured to represent to them that their humanity, the sentiments of their heart might be arrested perhaps by formal denials, but would not their justice listen to the other side of the question? I demanded that I might be allowed to furnish them with it. I solicited the sole favour of appearing in the interest of this sacred cause; "consenting," I said, "if I did not "prove the truth of the documents laid at their "feet, that my shame and my blood should ex- "piate my offence in having dared to impose upon "them."—At the same time I did not lose one opportunity, one instant, one thought, which might have multiplied the chances of any success. I addressed myself to every one, who, I learned, had any influence over the hearts of the Monarchs. I

wrote particularly to M. de la Harpe, the tutor of the Emperor Alexander, so known, so venerated, who I had been told was at that moment with him at Aix-la-Chapelle.—

"Sir,—It has been communicated to me, and I am assured that you have deigned to take some interest in my situation, in the constancy and efforts of that sentiment, which has caused it and continues it. This generous emotion ought not to surprise me. Nothing that is noble, great, humane and philanthropic, could in my mind be strange in M. de la Harpe. He is known to all the world by the doctrines which he has taught and which he found only in himself.—

"Sir, it will therefore be in the persuasion of the interest which appears to have touched you, that I shall address myself to you in perfect confidence. I am assured that the first papers which I addressed in Europe, touching the holy cause to which I have devoted myself, to the last breath of my life, have been communicated to you. I dare to take the liberty of adding here a little supplement, in the hope of assisting, with powerful motives, the intentions, perhaps the efforts, of your kind heart.

"I had a pamphlet of observations, made on the rock itself, and of the dictation of the illustrious victim; besides a circumstantial relation of every thing that happened from our departure from Paris, up to the moment when I was snatched from the fatal isle. These two documents, Sir, will be delivered to you at Aix-la-Chapelle. You will find in them the latest details which have reached me. They will prove to you, that ill treatment, outrages and barbarity, increase instead of diminish. You will be touched by them; I am certain of it: and you would touch *whomsoever* you may discourse with on the subject. Who upon the earth could remain insensible to such facts, to such a spectacle? I will add, that the victim is attacked with a liver complaint; that this complaint is speedily mortal in the place, and under the climate to which he is condemned. It is worthy of you, Sir, to put in motion the virtues which you have created. The

heart which you have adorned could not be shut against you. You have too well implanted the ideas of the good, the just, the magnanimous, for these glorious qualities to deny themselves so meritorious and so glorious an application; and what more worthy, more noble, or more grand occasion, can ever present itself? Whatever may be the condition of the mind and heart of the august object solicited, nothing but glory lies in his attention and his sympathy. If he should recollect an old friendship, if he still retains affection, nothing is more sweet, and never did a more moral spectacle present itself to the eyes of nations. If he hates, nothing is more grand, nor more magnanimous.

" This royal interest appears all that remains to complete his immortal crown. His splendid history expects it and solicits it. But is it fit for me to tell you so? What is there generous that I could conceive, which would be new to you; or in fact to him whose character shines, to do him justice, both in the public annals and the private acts of our affairs and of our times?

" I have had the honour to write directly upon this subject. But will my letter reach the august person to whom I have presumed to address it? I send you a copy of it, that you may remedy it, should there be occasion. It will explain to you better than I can express it, the nature of my cares, of my wishes, of my efforts, of my hopes. You will there see that politics are foreign to all my thoughts; that humanity, morality, and the affections of the heart are all that animates me, all that I pursue and invoke. These sentiments are calculated to be welcomed by you, and well received by him whose feet I wish them to reach. I am authorized by the claims which they must have upon your heart, to entreat you to assist me in attaining what I hope from them, or to guide me in a better way, if it exist, to obtain a hearing. Respect prevents me from availing myself of the favourable circumstance to seek a personal interview; but if I should learn that it was not impossible to be admitted to so august a presence, I would hasten thither with

joy and confidence, notwithstanding my feeble and decaying state. All business is interdicted me. The pains of my head do not allow any continued occupation; and this is my most grievous torment. My heart is full of the sentiments and impulses, which it is become impossible for me to put in practice.

"Deign to accept, &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

Neither upon this occasion, nor any other, have I ever had the slightest answer to any one of my letters; and if any thing has been sometimes insinuated to me indirectly and with mystery, I was obliged to suspect it as a snare laid against my person, which was of small moment; or against my cause, which was every thing to me. Thus the Congress ended, and not a word escaped from it in favour of Napoleon. In fine, I sought to stimulate even foreign talents; and in the number of voices then raised, the pamphlet of a certain German journalist attracted sufficient attention, to serve for a pretext to devise trammels for the liberty of the press.

However, all the efforts which I had called forth were vain, all my cares were lost . . . . . and they left him to die! . . . . . In fact, what could the bare truth avail with sovereigns, without the protection of any address, or the alliance of any interests, against the insinuations of wicked men, who watched with all the ardour of political fanaticism, private resentments, and eventual apprehensions. They acted so effectually, that in the council

of kings, fear, no doubt, prevailed over generosity. They demonstrated how dangerous universal interest rendered the victim: and it may be truly said, to the glory of generous sentiments, that public opinion was pronounced every where with great warmth; not less in Germany, than in any other country. And, perhaps, in the sight of the high personages who were witnesses of it, this benevolent opinion did a great deal of mischief to him whom it meant to serve; as if it had been in the destiny of Napoleon, that the interest of the Germans should become as baneful to him in adversity, as their animosity had been fatal to him in the time of his power. —Amongst the efforts to maintain the hideous captivity of Napoleon, there has been actually imputed to the English Ministers, a base intrigue, an unworthy deception. It was said, that to confirm the wavering Sovereigns, they had forged for the express purpose, a pretended plot of escape. The imputation was founded upon the timeliness, eclat, and publicity, with which the arrival of the *Musquito* brig suddenly caused this news to spread through all Europe; a circumstance, which after it had once produced the intended effect, that of counterbalancing the public favour, gave room to no further mention, to no detail, to no confirmation whatsoever; an imaginary conjecture, no doubt, and in which the English Ministers are probably culpable, only in having afforded ground

for suspecting them of it, by the numerous antecedent cases in which they degraded themselves in acting against Napoleon.

To my chagrin was further added, the fear of seeing old persecutions revived against me, in my peaceful solitude. The spring of 1819 was approaching. The excellent Grand Duke of Baden happened to die. Those who did not like us, became stronger by this event, and it was signified to me, without the knowledge of the new sovereign perhaps, that I must quit the States of Baden. The order was given to me only verbally, and I was even informed that I should receive it in no other way. The motive for my removal, it was said, was the desire to live in close friendship with France, and the fear that my stay would be disagreeable to her; a motive that must excite a smile of pity. I disdained to say that the French Minister had thought fit to leave me in repose; the intolerance of opinion had discovered another motive to the full as ridiculous. The person charged with the order against me, was very willing to grant me some days for preparation, but I was nearly like the Greek philosopher, who carried his all upon his own person; and I would have set out at the very instant of the notification itself, if Madame Las Cases had not been afflicted with a defluxion on the chest, which placed her in great danger. I assured him, that I should only allow myself time to see her out of danger; and al-

though they gave me the well-meant advice to solicit Government for permission to remain, I still disdained it; and in a few days after, I set out on my route for Offenbach, where Madame Las Cases was to join me, when she should be in a state to travel.

If I felt myself so much hurt by this unexpected treatment, it is because I had already forgotten all the vexations with which I had been overwhelmed by the English authorities, and that for more than a year, during which I lived upon the German soil, I was not subjected to such forms; but, on the contrary, I was spoiled by the favour, the interest, the respect, of which I every where saw myself the object, even among those of a contrary opinion; and besides, on leaving Manheim, I was far from being embarrassed for a new residence: some friends, in their kind precautions, had sounded some neighbouring governments; I was assured of a favourable reception in several. One of the princes addressed upon the occasion, answered, with a smile, "Yes; no doubt, he should "be well received and well treated. Far from re- "pulsing a man of this character, a prince who "understood his own interest, should have his "courtiers vaccinated from him." However, in expatiating here so freely upon my success, I must not disguise my disappointments. Now and then I had also my little mortifications. All was not roses; and without reckoning the expulsion from

Manheim, for example, of which I was speaking, they found great fault, in another place, with the respect shewn to me, being, they said, one of those wretches who had arrested the king of France at Varennes; and who more lately had done, perhaps, still worse. In another place, a baron who gave a grand *soiree*, informed his guests that he had at length ascertained who this Count and counsellor of Napoleon, whose arrival had made so great a noise in the city, was. He was, he informed them, nothing but his cook from St. Helena; and that not having means to pay him his wages at parting, he had, as a compensation, created him a Count and Counsellor of State. If the Baron believed what he said, he was assuredly a good easy man, and if his object was only to make his guests believe it, he must have taken them for great simpletons. The pleasant part of the story remains, for we must tell the whole; and it is, that, in fact, the cook from Longwood had passed through a few days before: and thus it appears how anecdotes and the biographies of the saloon are engendered and multiply; and the devil himself cannot afterwards eradicate them. I could smile at the wickedness or the stupidity. Their acts and their words were only ridiculous and grotesque; but a circumstance of an important nature presented itself, which would have distressed me excessively, if I did not know how much the mass of error, which presses round sovereigns, may impair the soundness of their judg-

ment. I was assured that some one at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, finding himself disposed, in the presence of the Emperor Alexander, to touch upon the frightful situation of Napoleon, and citing the authentic statements produced by me in his support, that Prince answered, "We "must not believe all that this man is come to tell "us in Europe; he is an intriguer." How is it that the most enlightened princes are deceived: even those from whom we should expect better? Unless it was here, as with Napoleon, who often used peevish expressions, after his own manner, and not implying harm; and besides, by good fortune, I have still on my side, time, that true crucible of characters. Years have since elapsed, and the unanimous opinion, I dare to hope, of all those who have known or followed me, would sufficiently clear me from such an accusation. "An intriguer!" I, who have worn out upon a rock all the vanities of this world! I, who in the clouds of Longwood, have seen all things from so great a height, that they remain small indeed to my eyes! I, who of all people on earth, know nothing to desire. I, in fine, who, no longer considering myself of this world, cannot have, and in fact have no other ambition whatever, no other wish than that of Diogenes—"that they would not stand between me and the sun."

FROM MY ARRIVAL AT OFFENBACH, UP TO MY RETURN TO FRANCE.

A Space of more than Two Years.

Residence at Offenbach.— Detail. — Arrival of Madame Montholon in Europe.—Journey to Brussels.—Residence at Liege, at Chaude-Fontaine, at Sohan near Spa, at Antwerp, at Malines.—Death of Napoleon.—Return to France.—Conclusion.

Offenbach is a handsome little town of the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, situate upon the Maine, two leagues from Frankfort. I settled myself there, according to my custom, in a sort of little hermitage. It was upon the bank of the river, within a step of the town.

My headaches, under their different symptoms, had never quitted me. At Manheim I suffered very acute pains. A short time after my arrival at Offenbach, my illness suddenly assumed a character new, insupportable, and alarming. It was then that an universal indisposition, an increasing debility, commenced, which, preventing the employment of all the faculties, brought with them the complete disgust of life; then also commenced that sudden trembling in my limbs and in my whole frame; those sudden visits of dimness of

sight, which I might call the twinkling of existence. How often in this state, and without taking any notice of it, have I gone to bed with the thought, I had almost said the hope, of awaking no more. Madame Las Cases, in the excess of her anxiety, wished that I should give up every kind of occupation whatever, of which, in fact, I was absolutely incapable; she suppressed my letters, and wrote to the relatives of the Emperor, to apprize them of my real situation, and prevail upon them to appoint a successor to me in the cares which I had created for myself. For a long time past, as a precaution, I myself had entreated them to join with me a person whose happiness it would have constituted, and the choice of whom would have been agreeable to the Emperor.* He was then with one of them; but, from one cause or another, this was not done, and necessity compelled me to break off without any provision having been made to supply the deficiency. I exhausted in vain all the aid of medicine; and, if the domestic cares, the tender solicitude which surrounded me on every side, could have availed, my illness would have been only a blessing, from the pleasure of seeing them lavished upon me. One loves to dwell upon that which was sweet, and I could

* Colonel Planat, officer in waiting, who had accompanied us as far as Plymouth, and who had lately obtained leave to repair to St. Helena himself.

not assuredly better describe the great interest felt for me, and the nature of the recompense which the sentiments I had shewn, the efforts which I had made, had obtained for me, than when I say, my little hermitage has been honoured with the presence of three Queens, and, I think, on the same day: two of them, it is true, had been deposed; but they did not the less command every where at that moment, by the elevation of their minds, the simplicity of their manners, the eclat of their other qualities, an universal respect, at least, as much as at the era of their greatest splendour.

It was at Offenbach that the little colony, which Cardinal Fesch was sending to St. Helena, was addressed to me on its way to that place. It consisted of an almoner, a surgeon, a physician, and a valet de chambre; all chosen by the Cardinal. Upon my arrival in Europe, I had written to him, to be assured that to send a priest, capable also of writing to dictation, and of assisting a little in business, would be very agreeable to the Emperor; and I had employed his intermediation, to interest, for that purpose, the conscience of the Holy Father, who, in fact, demanded it of the English Ministers, who had hitherto opposed the measure, or attached to it inadmissible conditions. It was also from Offenbach, I despatched to Longwood two charming portraits: one, the young Napoleon, painted from the life in the same year, and sent by King Jerome;

the other was that of the Empress Josephine, by Sain, a present from the Queen Hortense. It was mounted in a magnificent tea-caddy, of crystal. This choice of crystal was a delicate precaution of the Queen, who also had the mounting executed in a manner to render it impossible to suspect any concealment of writing. The former of these two portraits reached its destination. The valet de chambre of the Emperor has since told me, that Napoleon, on perceiving it, seized it with avidity and kissed it. I, who know how reserved the Emperor was, can judge from thence the whole extent of his joy and satisfaction. As to the portrait of the Empress Josephine, it never arrived at Longwood, although, by a singular contrariety, it was found, in consequence of some memorandum, to have paid the custom-house fees of its importation into England.

Towards the end of the summer, Madame Las Cases, by order of the physicians, carried me to the waters of Schwalbach, where I was an object of pity to every one. I returned without having derived any benefit from them; but a circumstance then revived my strength for an instant, and caused me to quit Germany.

All of a sudden I learnt from the public papers the return of Madame Montholon to Europe; she had been, like myself, repulsed from England, and landed at Ostend. I was not able to resist going to seek authentic details, of which I had so long been

deprived. I hastened to rejoin her, whether she should be permitted to stay in the country, or should be forced, after my example, to run up and down the highways, for in that case I should be useful to her; I had experience.

Travelling with mystery, for I remembered too well all the ill treatment I formerly received in the Netherlands, I joined Madame the Countess of Montholon, at Brussels. Not only was she free to reside there, but she had been received with the most particular respect; and a journal of the place having announced that she would be obliged to continue her route, a semi-official article refuted this news, sustaining itself upon this ground especially, that the Netherlands were the *land of hospitality*. I wanted no more; Belgium appeared to me nearly as France; in the midst of the Belgians, I should think myself among my countrymen. I wrote, therefore, to Madame Las Cases our good fortune, that she might hasten to come and join me; and shunning Brussels for the same reasons which had made me leave Frankfort, I chose Liege; remembering the tender reception which I had there experienced, at the time of my unfortunate passage, eighteen months before; and I settled there not without apprehension of some new ill luck. But I was in the wrong; for, I must with truth and gratitude say, that during nearly two years and a half that I have since traversed the country in all directions without any

request, any solicitation, not even a previous announcement, that country, formerly so baneful to me, has ever since been the land of hospitality; never having afterwards had occasion to perceive any authority whatever, otherwise than by the tranquillity, the repose, which I enjoyed under its shade.

Influence and foreign malice had ceased; it was at this time that my son requested leave, anew, and on his own account, to return to Longwood. I have the answer of Lord Bathurst, who refused it. Subsequently, the Princess Pauline, who succeeded in obtaining leave to repair thither, wrote to me to know if my son wished to accompany her: but then, alas! it was too late . . . .

Neither the affection nor the care of my friends at Liege, where I remained the whole winter; nor the rural situation of Chaude-Fontaine, where I spent the spring; nor the generous hospitality of the worthy and good proprietor of the charming place of Justlanville, who forced me to accept for the summer, at a few steps from him, the dwelling of Johan, at the gates of Spa and of Verviers; nor the benevolence of all his family, so numerous, so kind, so respected in the country; were able to ameliorate my condition, or fix my stay; and yet it would be difficult for me to describe, as they deserve, the extreme benevolence, the touching dispositions, the sympathetic spirit, of the whole population of these countries, so prosper-

ous, so rich, so flourishing, under the imperial reign, and continuing so grateful.

How often, in my solitary walks, the country people, the artisans, returning, after having crossed me, have exclaimed, *Long live good friends and fidelity!* Sweet words, which stirred the heart. How often, if we wanted some pulse, or other such articles, have we not been obliged, with the poorest of these people, to have them brought in the name of some neighbour, because to us they would be willing only to *give* them. How many traits of this kind I could cite, and how many of another nature too! But I abridge as much as I can; I write in haste: moreover, I feel myself embarrassed at finding myself alone in the scene; and yet I do not like to leave a gap; this should be, on my part, a sort of settled account. I spent my second winter at Antwerp, with some sincere friends whom I tenderly love, and whom my arrival on the expedition to Flushing, ten years before, had produced for me; and in the spring I reached Malines without any particular motive; for I was not able to remain a long time in the same place. I stood in need of change. I was the patient who agitates himself, and turns in his bed, seeking in vain the sweets of sleep. Twice, during the two years in Belgium, Madame Las Cases wished to take me to the south; and twice, at the very moment of setting out, imperative circumstances happened to stop us:—disappointments, however,

which were to us so many real favours of fortune. But for the first of them, we should have found ourselves advanced a day's journey within the frontier, at the very moment of a fatal and sanguinary catastrophe; and, but for the second, we should have arrived at Nice precisely at the moment of the constitutional explosion at Piedmont; and no doubt that in both cases, and naturally enough, we should have been subjected to at least temporary inconvenience.

Meanwhile the Congress of Laybach was held, and I could not refrain from attempting new solicitations. I addressed a new letter to each of the three high Sovereigns. The following is that to the Emperor Alexander:—

"Sire,—A new solemn occasion presents itself for preferring to your Majesty my humble and respectful accents. I seize it anew with eagerness.

"I am little afraid of rendering myself importunate: my excuse and my pardon are in the generosity of your soul.

"Sire, to recall, at this moment, to your recollection, and to that of your high Allies, the august captive, whom you, a long time, called your brother and your friend; to seek to divert your thoughts and theirs to that victim whose cruel suffering is always present to me; this is, I know it, to make the knell of death heard amidst joy and feasting. But therein, Sire, I trust, in the eyes of your Majesty yourself, I fulfil an honour-

able and pious duty, the performance of which must remain always sweet to me, however perilous it may be ! . . . . .

" Sire,—reduced to a state of infirmity and weakness which leaves me scarcely able to connect a few ideas, I follow the instinct of my heart in default of the faculties of my head, in contenting myself with reproducing literally here to your Majesty, the note which I presumed to address to you at Aix-la-Chapelle; for the circumstances having remained the same, no change having since taken place in that respect, what could I do better than to replace under the eyes of your Majesty, the same picture, the same facts, the same reasoning, the same truths.

" Only, if in despite of that which I then thought was certain, the illustrious victim, contrary to my expectation and that of the faculty, still breathes; if he has not yet fallen, I shall dare to observe to your Majesty, that this unexpected prolongation of his life, which has been to him only a continuation of his torment, is perhaps, to your Majesty, a blessing from heaven, which Providence reserves for your heart and for your memory . . . . Ah! Sire, there is then time still! . . . . . But the precious moment may at any moment escape from *all your power!* . . . . And what would be then the tardy, impotent regrets which could neither assuage your heart, nor restore for your memory an act magnanimous, generous—that of glory, the

sweetest, the most moral, the most commendable to posterity, the best understood, perhaps, with which you could have embellished your glorious life? I mean oblivion of injuries, disdain of vengeance, remembrance of old friendship; in fine, the respect due to royal majesty—to *one of the Lord's anointed!!!*

Sire,—since my return to Europe, separated from the society of men, a prey to hopeless sufferings derived at Saint Helena itself, belonging for the future and unalterably much more to another life than to this, I ardently raise every day in my retreat, my hands to the Almighty, praying that he will deign to touch the heart of your Majesty, and to enlighten it upon so essential a part of its interests and its glory.

"I am, &c.*

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

What propheeies in so many of these lines! Alas, they were scarcely under the eyes of the monarchs when he was no more! . . . . He had ceased to live, to suffer! . . . . On opening the Moniteur, I found there the fatal announcement. Though it could not surprise me, having been a long time certain to my understanding, I was not the less struck, overcome as at an unexpected event that was never to happen.

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* A similar letter was addressed to the other Allied Sovereigns, with slight appropriate alterations.

The next day I received a melancholy letter, with circumstantial details, and conjectures for which these details might have furnished matter; and this letter terminated by saying, "It was on the fifth of May, at six o'clock in the evening, at the very instant when the cannon was announcing the setting of the sun, that his great soul quitted the earth." . . . .

On the report of the death of Napoleon, it must, however, be said, that there was but one single cry, the one same sentiment in the streets, in the shops, in the public places; even the saloons shewed some feeling; the cabinets alone shewed themselves insensible: shall I say insensible? . . . . But, after all, it was natural, they breathed, at length, at their ease. . . .

During his life, in the time of his power, he had been assailed with pamphlets and libels; on his death, we were suddenly inundated with productions in his praise—a contrast, nevertheless, that gives a little relief from so much meanness of the human heart. There were every where, and from all parts, compositions in prose and in verse, paintings, portraits, pictures, lithographies, and a thousand little things more or less ingenious, proving much better than all the pomp of kings could do, the sincerity, the extent, the vivacity of the sentiments which he left behind him. A curé, on the banks of the Rhine, the place of whose residence had received some particular favours from

the Emperor, assembled his parishioners, and made them pray for their old benefactor. In a large city of Belgium, a great number of citizens subscribed for a solemn funeral service, and if they abstained from the performance of it, it was much more from etiquette than in consequence of any interdict. Then these words of Napoleon, which I have often heard him repeat, were verified:—"In "course of time, nothing will be thought so fine "nor seize the attention so much, as the doing of "justice to me. . . . . I shall gain ground every "day on the minds of the people. My name will "become the star of their rights; it will be the "expression of their regrets." And all these circumstances are verified in every country and every where. Without reckoning things of this kind, of which I am no doubt unaware, a peer of Great Britain shortly after said in open Parliament, "That the "very persons who detested this great man, have "acknowledgedth at for ten centuries there had "not appeared upon earth a more extraordinary "character. All Europe," added he, "has worn "mourning for the hero; and those who have "contributed to that great sacrifice, are devoted to "the execrations of the present generation as well "as to those of posterity."*

Two German professors, whether they had always known his real character, or that they had

* Speech of Lord Holland. *Pilot* of the 3d of August, 1822.

been cured of their national prejudices, have erected upon their grounds a monument to his memory, with some inscriptions, indicating that, with him, fell a funereal veil over the rights of the people, and the ascendant impulse of civilization.

Our writers have defended his memory, our poets have celebrated it, and our orators, in the legislative tribunal, have proclaimed aloud the attachment which they had felt for him, or that they are honoured by the distinctions which they had received from him.

Nothing remained for me but to return to my country. In crossing the frontier, at the end of this second emigration, I could not avoid thinking on the circumstances of my return after the first, and what a difference of sentiment distinguished them! Then I seemed, at every step, to advance amidst a hostile population; now I felt as if I was entering into my family. I soon beheld again all my companions of Longwood, and, while embracing them, I could not deny myself one melancholy reflection—we were all met again; but he for whom we had sought the fatal rock, he alone remained there! . . . . . and I recollected that he had told us it would be so, and many other things besides. I learned from all these eyewitnesses the details and the circumstances of the ill treatment, which, since my departure, had been daily increasing; and I saw that the times which I had known had not even been the most unhappy moments.

I read his last will; I there found my name, three or four times, in his own hand! . . . What were my emotions! . . . Assuredly I did not stand in need of them for my reward. For a long time I have carried it within my breast. But the remembrances, however, were dear and sweet! . . . How much more precious were they to me than millions! And yet he joined to them large sums from those of his family who were most nearly connected with him, and were dearest to him. If they ever pay them, so much the better; that will concern them hereafter more than me. . . . I should have liked to consider myself only as a kind of a depositary. I even wished to anticipate them, but I found it necessary to stop: my means did not allow me to make these advances. My happiness would have been great in affording a retirement to a few civil and military veterans. In our long evenings, we should have often spoken of his battles or discoursed of his heart.

At last, I received, (thanks to the zealous interposition of one of the finest characters of the English peerage!) the papers which had been detained from me at St. Helena; and which, in spite of all the strength of the laws, I no longer reckoned upon. In the situation in which I found myself, with the sentiments with which it had inspired me, I felt myself under the indispensable obligation to assist, since I had some means to do it, in making better known him who had been so much misre-

presented; and in spite of my infirmity, I set about the work. Heaven has blessed my efforts in permitting me to reach the end, and to finish it, however ill: this I have the happiness to do at this instant. If I have succeeded in reconciling hearts, if I have destroyed prejudices, conquered prepossessions, I have obtained my dearest, my sweetest object; my mission is accomplished.

Passy, August 15, 1823.

N. B. It has not been thought necessary to give an Index of the particular Contents of this Eighth Part. The articles in it following in succession and not being interrupted, as in the preceding, the Table of Chapters, at the commencement, appeared sufficient.

END OF THE EIGHTH AND LAST PART.

B. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

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